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CENSUS OF INDIA, 1921.

VOLUME IX.

CITIES OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

PART I.

REPORT

BY

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Superintendent of Census Operations, Bombay.

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PART A.—Population Statistics.

CHAPTER I.—INTRODUCTORY.

SECTION 1.—SCOPE OF THE REPORT.

1. This Volume, which deals with all the Cities of the Bombay Presidency takes the place of the Volume which in past Censuses dealt with Bombay City only. It is divided into two parts, *viz.*:—Part I-Report, and Part II-Tables.

2. In Part II the various Tables given are of two kinds. The first, which are called City Tables, present certain population statistics of a kind similar to those presented in the Imperial Tables, but confined to cities only. The second kind, which are called Housing Tables, present statistics of house accommodation, pressure of population on tenements, and so on. These statistics, which were first given for Bombay City in 1901, have, in accordance with an order of Government and resolutions of the Local Bodies concerned, been given on this occasion for Karachi and Ahmedabad also.

3. This Report is broken up into two portions to correspond with the two portions of the Tables, *viz.*:—A. Population Statistics, and B. Housing Statistics.

SECTION 2.—COST OF THE CENSUS IN CITIES.

4. It has been the custom for Bombay, since the Housing Tables were first taken out, to pay for half the total cost of the operations; and this arrangement has this time been extended to Karachi and Ahmedabad also. In passing I should like to say that the bargain from the point of view of the city concerned is a good one. Much extra information is obtained *with an actual saving of money*. If the special information for the Housing Tables is not taken out the Municipality has to pay for the whole cost of enumeration, whereas with the acceptance of the Housing Tables system it has only to pay for half. The extra cost of collecting the Housing Statistics is very small. When we come to the Tabulation stage these three Municipalities pay for half the total cost, while all others pay at the rate of three months salary of one tabulating clerk for every 10,000 of the population dealt with. The actual moiety of the cost of the tabulation demanded from the Ahmedabad Municipality came to Rs. 3,600; and the amount which would have been recoverable under the ordinary arrangements applicable to other Municipalities would have been Rs. 2,700. The difference is only Rs. 900. On the other hand the total cost of enumeration was Rs. 15,350. Of this Government paid half. Had the Municipality not fallen in with the scheme for taking out the Housing Tables with its concomitant financial arrangement, the cost of enumeration would have been not less than Rs. 14,000 all of which would have had to be borne by the Board.

SECTION 3.—COMPARISON OF BOMBAY CITIES WITH OTHER CITIES.

5. So far as the whole world is concerned London and New York (used in the most comprehensive sense) contain Populations above 7 and 6 millions respectively. There is then a drop,—Paris, Chicago, Petrograd, Tokyo, Vienna, and Berlin (all pre-war figures) coming into the two millions. Cities above a million are Moscow, Philadelphia, Buenos Ayres, Osaka, Canton, Greater Calcutta, Rio de Janeiro, Glasgow, Peking, Constantinople and Cleveland. These figures are again pre-war; and the population of Constantinople and the two China cities were rough estimates only. At this Census Bombay passes the 1 million limit.

6. The following gives, for ready comparison the population in 1921 of all cities in India above 100,000—

City.	Population.
1. Greater Calcutta	... 1,327,547
(Calcutta proper)	... (907,851)
*2. Bombay	... 1,175,914
3. Madras	... 526,911
4. Hyderabad (Deccan)	... 404,185
5. Rangoon	... 341,962
6. Delhi	... 304,420
7. Lahore	... 281,781
*8. Ahmedabad	... 274,007
9. Lucknow	... 240,566
10. Bangalore	... 237,496
*11. Karachi	... 216,883
12. Cawnpore	... 216,436
*13. Greater Poona	... 214,796
14. Benares	... 198,447
15. Agra	... 185,532
*16. Amritsar	... 160,318
17. Allahabad	... 157,220
18. Mandalay	... 148,917
19. Nagpur	... 145,122
20. Srinagar	... 141,735
21. Madura	... 138,894
22. Bareilly	... 129,459
23. Meerut	... 122,609
24. Trichinopoly	... 120,422
25. Jaipur	... 120,207
26. Patna	... 119,976
*27. Sholapur	... 119,581
28. Dacca	... 119,450
*29. Surat	... 117,434
30. Ajmer	... 113,512
31. Jubbulpore	... 108,793
32. Peshawar	... 104,452
33. Rawalpindi	... 101,142

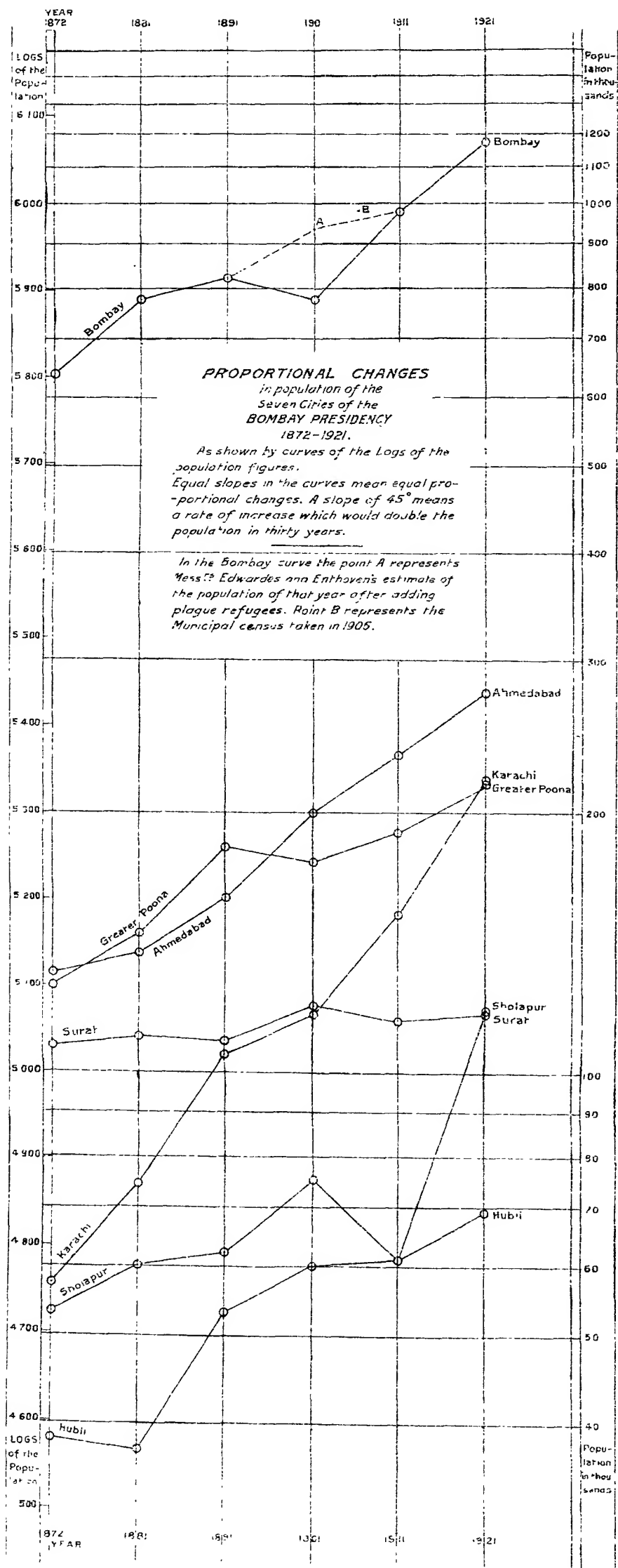
SECTION 4—THE CENSUS CITY.

7. The Cities of India given in the above Table or those with a population above 100,000.† But Local Governments have the right to declare any other place to be a "City" for Census purposes. In this Presidency at the last three Censuses the "Cities" have been as follows:—

1901.	1911.	1921.
Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.
Ahmedabad.	Ahmedabad.	Ahmedabad.
Surat.	Karachi.	Karachi.
Poona.	Surat.	Surat.
Sholapur.	Poona.	Poona.
Karachi.	Sholapur.	Sholapur.
Hyderabad.		Hubli.
Hubli.		
Belgaum.		
Broach.		
Nasik.		
Sukkur.		

*Bombay Cities are shown with an asterisk.

† It is incorrect to speak in terms of lacs when dealing with population figures. The term lac is exclusively confined to Rupees.



8. The inclusion of Hubli was due to my own recommendation, based on the expectation that the population would be found to have increased more than it has. An application by Hyderabad to be treated as a City was not supported by the Local Officers and was negatived. But it seems open to question whether it should not be so treated at the next Census.

9. The following shows the population of the seven Cities and the largest towns in this Presidency—

Population (1921) of the Cities and of all Towns above 50,000 in the Bombay Presidency.

City or Town.	Population.
Bombay	... 1,175,914
Ahmedabad	... 274,007
Karachi	... 216,883
Greater Poona	... 214,796
Sholapur	... 119,581
Surat	... 117,434
Hyderabad	... 81,838
Hubli	... 69,206
Bhavnagar	... 59,392
Kolhapur	... 55,594
Shikarpur	... 55,503

10. Even after the "Cities" have been selected by the Local Government the question what to treat as suburbs of those Cities has to be considered by the Superintendent. For a full discussion on the general question of suburbs the reader is invited to Chapter II of the General Report. The area included in each City is discussed at the commencement of the discussion of the figures for that City.

SECTION 5.—GROWTH OF THE BOMBAY CITIES.

11. The following Tables, which explain themselves, as well as the diagram giving curves of the Logs, afford a rapid idea of the comparative growth of the different Cities. The range is from Surat, which is practically stationary, to Karachi which is very rapidly increasing in size:—

Population of Cities since 1872.

City.	Population in					
	1872.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
Bombay (a)	644,405	773,196	821,764	776,006	979,445	1,175,914
Ahmedabad (b)	128,505	137,041	159,366	199,609	232,777	274,007
Karachi (c)	56,753	73,560	105,199	116,663	151,903	216,883
Poona (d)	125,613	144,340	182,099	175,463	188,701	214,796
Surat (e)	107,855	109,844	109,229	119,306	114,868	117,434
Sholapur (e)	53,403	59,890	61,915	75,288	61,345	119,581
Hubli (f)	37,961	36,677	52,595	60,214	61,440	69,206

(a) Area unchanged throughout; (b) population of past Censuses adjusted for intercensal changes of boundary; (c) boundaries at past Censuses uncertain. Fort population known to have been incorrectly excluded in 1911; (d) population of past Censuses adjusted to represent area now included; (e) suburbs added in 1911; omitting suburbs the population in 1911 and 1921 would be 55,237 and 113,931; (f) suburbs shown in 1901 and 1921 but not other years; omitting suburbs population would be—1901, 53,913; 1921, 66,772.

Variation in population of Cities since 1872.

City.	Proportion to population of each City at each succeeding Census 1872 as 100.*					
	1871.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
Bombay	100	129	128	129	152	182
Port Blair	100	107	124	155	181	213
Surat	100	139	185	236	268	382
Pune	100	115	145	140	150	171
Solapur	100	102	101	112	107	109
Satara	100	112	116	141	115	224
Mumbai	100	107	129	155	162	182

CHAPTER II.—BOMBAY POPULATION.

SECTION 1.—DEFINITION OF BOMBAY.

12. Bombay, as a Census City, includes the main Island, and four small Islands in the Harbour—Cross Island, Middle Ground, Oyster Rock and Pheasant Island. It does not include Elephanta, which, with Hogg Island and the small islets, belongs to the Kolaba District. The four Islands included in Bombay do not come within the jurisdiction of the Municipality. But since their population was only 213, the addition of so small a figure to the population of the Municipal area proper will not exert any appreciable effect either upon the Census figures or upon the Municipal Vital Statistics.

13. There is no Cantonment for troops in Bombay. But the Military areas in Colaba and elsewhere are only partially under Municipal control.

SECTION 2.—THE TAKING OF THE CENSUS.

14. The Census of "Bombay Town and Island," which is merely a traditional way of saying Bombay City is taken by the Executive Health Officer, under the general supervision of the Provincial Superintendent. The ordinary Civil area is enumerated by a staff organised direct from the Municipal Office. But the Census of Military areas is taken by the Military, and of Railway, Customs and R. I. M. premises by officers of those departments under the control of the Executive Health Officer.

15. An exact account of the operations from the pen of Dr. Sandilands has been included in the Administrative Volume of this Census. But as that Volume is departmental only and not available to the public it might be worth while to mention here one or two facts. As at the last Census considerable help was received from certain schools. The following is a list of schools which on this occasion undertook the enumeration of entire Census units, not smaller than a Circle—

Name of the School.	Principal, Headmaster or Superintendent.	Name of Section and No. of Circle.
Common Union School	... Mr. M. F. Serrao (Assistant Master).	Panastwadi, half the first circle and second complete.
St. T. High School	... Mr. M. R. Paranjpye	Dhuleshwar, Circle No. 1.
St. Mary's School	... Rev. H. W. Lea Wilson, M.A.	Khetwadi, 1 and 2.
St. John's High School	... Rev. J. R. C. Abbott, M.A.	Khetwadi, 3 and 6.
Highland High School	... Mr. B. M. Sutaria, M.A., LL.B.	Girgaon, whole section.
Latitia School	... Mr. M. D. Bagawker	Tarwadi, 1.
St. S. Boys' High School	... Mr. T. M. Evans	Dycolia, 2.
St. John's High School	... Rev. William Haden, M.A.	1st Nagpada, 1 and 2.
St. J. P. Pares College	... Mr. D. S. Joshi, B.A.	Parel, 5 and 3.

* It should be noted in the variation of the Census figures to the preceding Table should be borne in mind.



Legend:
--- M
--- RV
--- C
⑤ ⑥

Some other schools helped in the Final Enumeration only, or lent the assistance of individual masters or pupils.

16. The total number of clerical staff spared from Government offices for Census work was 878 and from private firms only 22. The names of these firms are as follows:—

Name of the firm.	Number of clerks spared to work.
The Bombay Telephone Company	... 2 Clerks.
The Indian Hotels Company, Limited	... 2 "
The Tata Iron and Steel Company, Limited	... 2 "
Messrs. Forbes, Forbes, Campbell & Co., Ltd.	... 2 "
Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Company, Limited	... 4 "
The Tata Engineering Co., Ltd.	... 2 "
Messrs. Tata Sons, Limited (Hydro Electric Department)	... 5 "
Messrs. Ardeshir Hormasji Dinshaw & Co., Solicitors	... 2 "
The Tata Publicity Corporation, Ltd.	... 1 Clerk.

The response of the firms is obviously very meagre.

SECTION 3.—CENSUS DIVISIONS.

17. The general reference map attached shows the division of the Island into Sections and Circles, and also the special areas referred to in the last para. Within each circle there are a number of blocks. These could not be shown on the map, but the reader is referred to the detailed large scale maps of sections inserted in the 1901 Report. There has been of course some change in the number and boundaries of circles and blocks since then, but not to the extent that might have been expected. Every effort is made to maintain the old boundaries. As regards the sections these are a permanent and fixed part of the Municipal administration, and have not changed for several decades. It may be noted that the *skeleton* maps included in the 1901 and 1911 Reports show boundaries of some of the sections differing from those shown in the maps in this Volume. The maps in those Censuses were wrong. This can easily be verified by comparing the boundaries of Warli and of Byculla in the map facing p. 10 of the 1901 Report with the correct large scale maps of those sections facing pp. 116 and 106. The skeleton map in 1901 was evidently carelessly drawn and the errors were continued in 1911. They have now been set right. The point is mentioned because of the danger that readers, on comparing the skeleton maps of the three Censuses and finding great differences on this occasion, will infer therefrom that the figures are not comparable. As a matter of fact the boundaries of sections are the same, except where reclamations take place on the periphery of the Island.

SECTION 4.—AREA OF THE ISLAND AND AREAS OF SECTIONS.

18. As regards the periphery of the Island the question what constitutes the boundary is obviously difficult. Apart from the fact that in most of these peripheral sections reclamations, small or large, are taking place continuously, the boundary itself is of uncertain definition. In the first place the boundary takes in, and the areas given in the Tables include, all inland water such as salt pans, dock basins, creeks, &c. But the problem does not end there. On the maps used tide levels are not shown, and though it may be definitely stated that the sections do *not* include what is known as the foreshore, it cannot be said that the boundary coincides either with any particular tide level or with any clearly discernible line of firm land. Actually the best definition is that the boundary is the boundary of *properties* whether public or private. The City Survey demarcates properties and assigns them City Survey Numbers. These numbers are plotted on to maps of very large scale, and those maps are reduced down. In the process of reduction inequalities get smoothed away, and a boundary is thus formed to which the definition suggested above is reasonably applicable.

19. The total reported area of the Island from time to time is as shown in the margin. The figures are reduced to acres in some cases from areas stated in terms of square miles, and I have given them to the nearest acre, the practice of giving decimals of an acre being not justified by the degree of accuracy of the measurements.

1872	...	11,930	acres.
1881	...	14,229	"
1891	...	14,050	"
1901	...	14,342	"
1906	...	14,356	"
1911	...	14,576	"
1921	...	15,066	"

20. The following is a summary of what is known regarding the methods used on different occasions to arrive at the areas reported. In 1872 the area is stated as 18.64 square miles. The authority is not known. In the 1881 Report the following passage occurs:—

“A special survey taken some ten years ago shows the area of the Island to be 22 square miles, 149 acres and 1,897 square yards. Out of this the area reclaimed by the various official and private companies that have been in existence since 1863-64 amounts to 898 acres and a half, leaving the rest of the Island about 1,414 acres in excess of the measurements accepted at the last Census.”

This passage seems to imply that the 1872 figure was too low, and was based on a much earlier survey. The figure 1,414 seems to be a mistake for 1,401. In 1891 the area was given as 22 square miles, which seems to be a round figure (p. 14 of that Report). But this round figure seems afterwards to have been reduced to acres in the “Sub-divisional Table” on p. 2) at the end of the Volume, where the area is given as 14,080 acres.

21. The 1901 authors went to considerable trouble, as the following passage will show:—

“There seems to be a doubt in many minds regarding the exact area of the Island. In default therefore of any authoritative statement upon the point, we have assumed the area of the whole island, as given in the Census Report of 1881, to be correct, and have added thereto the areas reclaimed by the Port Trust between 1881 and 1891, and the portion of land so acquired between 1891 and 1901; and finally have worked out the area of each section, by adding together the area of each circle composing the section, and seeing whether the latter correspond with the sectional areas given in 1881. The latter work has been most carefully done by a Municipal Surveyor, and due allowance has in every case been made for areas occupied by roads, &c. The result may be briefly summarised as follows:—The total area of 1881 *plus* the reclaimed areas tallies with the total area of 1901; but the areas of five sections, *viz.*, Mahalaxmi, Mahim, Warli, Byculla and Parel, differ considerably from the areas given against them in 1881. The three first-named have increased in area, the two latter have decreased. Believing that the statement which is sub-joined is very nearly correct, the only inference to be drawn is either that the calculations of 1881 were incorrect or that there has been a readjustment of the area comprised in each of those five registration sections since the year 1881.”

The areas of the five sections referred to were as follows:—

Section.	Area (1881).	Area (1901).
Mahalaxmi	... 351.18	642.01
Byculla	... 934.97	511.52
Parel	... 1,109.65	552.45
Mahim	... 929.90	1,286.23
Warli	... 1,482.15	1,815.64

This matter will have to be referred to again below.

22. The 1906 figure is that of the special Municipal Census of that year. P. 21 of the Report shows that the 1901 figures were accepted as they stood, and areas known to have been reclaimed were simply added. The area adopted in 1911 (p. 3 of the Report) was stated to be 14,575½ acres—

“..... or 330 acres more than it was ten years ago. The increase is due to reclamation from the sea at Colaba, Fort North, Mazagaon and Sewri.”

It is not stated how the areas were arrived at. But it is natural to infer that the Port Trust were again asked to give the figures of their reclamations and these were simply added.

23. On the present occasion, there having been a fresh City Survey since the last Census, the City Survey Office were asked to give the areas of sections. The areas given by them are those in Column 2 of City Table I. At the time of printing that Table it was supposed that these revised areas,

which, it will be noticed, differ in the case of every single section from the areas adopted in past Censuses—(and in many cases unchanged since 1881)—were revised on the basis of the new and presumably more accurate survey. It was subsequently found that this was not the case. For the calculation of these areas the New Survey was not used; nor is it certain that it could have been used, since that survey is a survey of individual City Survey Numbers, while the Census Sections take in inland water, portions of creeks and so on. What actually happened was this. The Superintendent of the City Survey, not knowing that the areas of the sections were already given in past Reports, borrowed from the Census Abstraction Office a large scale map, marked up by the Municipal Census staff with the boundaries of sections. And the sections were then measured by *area comb*.

24. Unfortunately the Map supplied by the Abstraction Office was one prepared originally by the Municipal Office for the practical purpose of enumeration, and not with any idea of its being used for computing areas. Actually, where any roadway is the boundary between two adjacent sections, it is a standing order that the centre of the roadway is to be taken as the boundary. But in ruling up the map for use of the staff the boundary line was usually ruled to one side or other of the road so as not to obliterate the name printed down the centre.

25. Nor is the area comb a very accurate method of measuring areas. Consequently, taking both points into consideration I consider that the areas printed in City Table I, though almost certainly more accurate than those previously used, are liable to an error of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

26. Now it will be seen that the areas given differ in all cases, and often very widely from those arrived at in 1901 by the then Census authorities. Yet it is not a fact that the boundaries of sections have materially altered since then. I, therefore, had the area of Byculla calculated by area comb from the 1901 map opposite p. 106 of the 1901 Report. The result was very surprising—

Byculla.

Area of Byculla by area comb from the large scale 567·57.

Municipal map 1921.

Ditto arrived at by the authors of the 1901 Report. 511·52.

Ditto recalculated (1922) by area comb from the 565·18.
1901 map facing p. 106 of that year's Report.

27. This result raises serious doubts as to the accuracy of the 1901 areas. The calculation was then carried down to Circles, with the following result :—

Byculla Section.

Circle Number.	Arrived at by the authors of the 1901 Report.	Recalculated (1922) by area comb from the map facing p. 106 in the 1901 Report.
1	187·30	216·94
2	41·14	48·45
3	67·63	71·07
4	35·90	35·12
5	6·28	10·23
6	50·07	47·83
7	15·85	17·05
8	43·35	45·76
Road Area.	64·00	72·73
	511·52	565·18

28. Now to return to the general question of changes of area from Census to Census it seems that the method of taking the areas previously adopted and adding reported reclamations of the Port Trust could never be right. In the first place, having regard to the definition of the peripheral boundary of the island given above it must be clear that the serious reclamation work of the Port Trust or any other official authority is not the only reclamation going on. For example, a property owner on the sea face extends his garden a few yards, or pushes his sea wall or outer fence out a few yards further; or a Swimming Bath or a Gymkhana is constructed on the sea shore, and the proprietors of these are allowed to gather in a little portion of shore. In all these ways the limits of the island tend to alter by imperceptible degrees. And when we remember that the areas are given to hundredths of an acre the importance of these elusive changes will be apparent. But even that is not all. When the map for any new Census is prepared the line joining two points on opposite sides of a creek or of a road running down to the shore and ending blindly in the sand may be drawn in slightly different from before.

29. Secondly, as regards inland sections, city improvements, alteration of the frontage of streets, rounding off of corners, and—in the same way as above—slight changes in the drawing in of the boundaries on the maps, all tend to cause slight changes from Census to Census.

30. If in reply to these arguments it is advanced that in 1901 the areas of most sections came out to the same figure as in 1881, one can reply that that result was achieved by reason of the method adopted. It will be seen from the extract above that the measurer was asked to measure each Circle separately and compute the total, *and was then allowed to add an unknown and purely arbitrary figure for "roads, &c."* Obviously by such a method it is usually possible to adjust the arbitrary figure to correspond with the difference between the 1881 area and the total areas of circles freshly computed.

31. In the five cases in which the 1901 area differed considerably from the 1881 area, namely Mahalaxmi, Byculla, Parel, Mahim and Warli, it must be assumed that the boundaries of these sections had changed in the interval rather than that the 1881 measurements were so far out as it would otherwise be necessary to assume.

32. The conclusions at which I arrive are therefore—

- (1) The 1881 areas may or may not have been correct.
- (2) The 1901 areas were certainly incorrect by as much as 10 per cent. in some cases.
- (3) The areas now given in City Table I, are more correct than those previously adopted, but are subject to an error of $\pm 2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
- (4) The boundaries of no sections are certain to be constant from Census to Census, and therefore their areas require remeasurement each time.
- (5) The area comb method is not sufficiently accurate.
- (6) Before any measurements are made from a map it is necessary to get the Municipal Office to mark up a fresh map with accurate boundary lines, and all doubtful points such as where a creek ends and the sea begins and so on must be settled by the Municipal Census Officer.
- (7) The populations of past Censuses in City Table II are probably accurate or very nearly accurate for 1911 and 1901 but are unadjusted for Censuses prior to that date; and in particular the populations of Mahalaxmi, Byculla, Parel, Mahim and Warli cannot be safely compared for the earlier Censuses.
- (8) In the same way the densities shown in Subsidiary Table I to Chapter I of the 1911 Report (page 5 of that Report) are inaccurate for 1901 and 1911. Whether they are accurate for 1891 and earlier Censuses is not known. But in any case the areas of five sections having been different in 1881 the densities are not exactly comparable. The corresponding densities in City Table I of 1921 are subject to an error of $\pm 2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

SECTION 5.—CHANGE IN THE POPULATION FIGURE AT THIS CENSUS.

33. The 1911 population was 979,445, and the 1921 population 1,175,914. The difference is +196,469. Now when the births and deaths are totalled for all months from April 1911 to March 1921 inclusive, which is as near to the intercensal period as it is possible to get, we find a deficit of 198,175. The actual birth and death figures for the ten twelve month periods are given in the following Table :—

Births and Deaths in Bombay between the 1911 and 1921 Censuses.			
Year.	Births.	Deaths.	Excess of Deaths over Births.
1-4-11 to 31-3-12	21,951	34,356	12,405
1-4-12 to 31-3-13	20,563	37,395	16,832
1-4-13 to 31-3-14	19,916	32,959	13,083
1-4-14 to 31-3-15	19,159	27,966	8,807
1-4-15 to 31-3-16	20,568	26,954	6,386
1-4-16 to 31-3-17	21,350	30,108	8,758
1-4-17 to 31-3-18	22,092	36,485	14,393
1-4-18 to 31-3-19	21,409	70,837	49,428
1-4-19 to 31-3-20	20,120	57,915	37,795
1-4-20 to 31-3-21	19,668	49,994	30,326
120 months	206,796	404,969	198,173

34. That is to say we have in some way to account for 196,469 plus 198,173, in all 394,642. If birth and death registration were perfect this figure would be the exact figure of immigrants. But we know that registration, and especially of births, is deficient, without however knowing the proportion. In the absence of any evidence of that proportion it is better to assume that the number of omitted births and deaths is an annual constant. Again even if we take the whole figure as the immigration figure plus an unknown annual constant for defective registration, we do not know how to distribute the immigration portion of it by years. In some years immigrants will be more and in others less. But in the absence of evidence on this point we must distribute the whole evenly over the 10 years. We then get the following result as estimates of intercensal population :—

Date.	Population (in thousands).	Deduct for excess of deaths over births.	Result.	Add constant for immigrants (39·5).	Result, being population at end of twelve months.
1-4-1911	979·5	12·5	967·0	39·5	1,006·5
1-4-1912	1,006·5	17·0	989·5	39·5	1,029·0
1-4-1913	1,029·5	13·0	1,016·5	39·5	1,056·0
1-4-1914	1,056·5	9·0	1,047·5	39·5	1,087·0
1-4-1915	1,087·0	6·5	1,080·5	39·5	1,119·0
1-4-1916	1,119·0	9·0	1,110·0	39·5	1,149·5
1-4-1917	1,149·0	14·5	1,134·5	39·5	1,174·0
1-4-1918	1,174·0	49·5	1,124·5	39·5	1,164·0
1-4-1919	1,164·0	38·0	1,126·0	39·5	1,165·0
1-4-1920	1,165·0	38·0	1,127·0	39·5	1,166·5
1-4-1921	1,166·0	30·5	1,135·5	39·5	1,175·0*

* The result should have been 1,176 whole thousands. The difference (1 thousand) is due to adjustments of the figures in Column 3 to the nearest half thousands.

35. The above method of arriving at intercensal estimates is very rough and ready. If correct it would mean that Bombay passed the million almost immediately after the 1911 Census, and was very nearly as large in 1917 as in 1921. Of these two conclusions the former is probably correct. The latter is

probably not, because immigration during 1919 and 1920 and the first 3 months of 1921 was probably more rapid than in the earlier years of the decade. In other words the immigration factor is not a constant. On the uncertain evidence available the matter can hardly be pursued further, but is left to the curious to investigate if they wish.

SECTION 6.—ACCURACY OF THE CENSUS FIGURES.

36. There is no doubt that there were people before the Census who believed the population of the Island to be $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and that there are still some who are ready to claim that the Census figure is far below the mark. There is nothing to support this view. In fact the evidence is all the other way. The Logarithmic curve in the diagram in Chapter I distinctly suggests a reasonable increase at this Census. Moreover incorrect deductions are drawn from the retardation of the rate of increase from 26 per cent. in the period 1901 to 1911 to 20 per cent. in the period 1911-1921.

37. The true fact is that it was the 1901 Census that was too low and not the 1921 Census. By this it is not meant that enumeration was less complete then. But the plague epidemic was estimated to have caused 114,000 deaths and to have induced 43,000 persons to migrate from the City at the time of the Census (*vide* the 1901 Report). The Municipal Census taken in 1906 showed that people had got used to the plague and the gaps caused by the early ravages had been filled up.

38. The marginal figures show the population at each Census since 1872. The population recorded in 1901 was 776,006, but Messrs. Edwardes and Enthoven reconstructed it to 970,000, after adding plague losses and plague refugees. The real increase from 1901 to 1911 was, therefore, very slight. It was not one of the periods of the City's active growth.

Population of Bombay, 1872 to 1921.

1872	...	644,405
1881	...	773,196
1891	...	821,784
1901	...	776,006
1906	...	977,822
1911	...	979,445
1921	...	1,175,914

39. The falsity of assumption that the present Census figure is too low is also proved by the available Municipal death figures. In the absence of epidemics on a large scale a steadily rising population will result in a steady rise in the number of deaths.

40. * In the years 1913 to 1916 major epidemics were absent, but the annual deaths not only showed no tendency to increase but in 1915 fell to less than 24,000, that is to say, to the level which had prevailed 20 years before in the non-epidemic period 1891 to 1895, when the population of Bombay was less by one and a half lacs.

The annual number of deaths, which had been in the neighbourhood of 32,000 in the years 1913 and 1914 rose to 33,000 in 1917, the last non-epidemic year available for consideration.

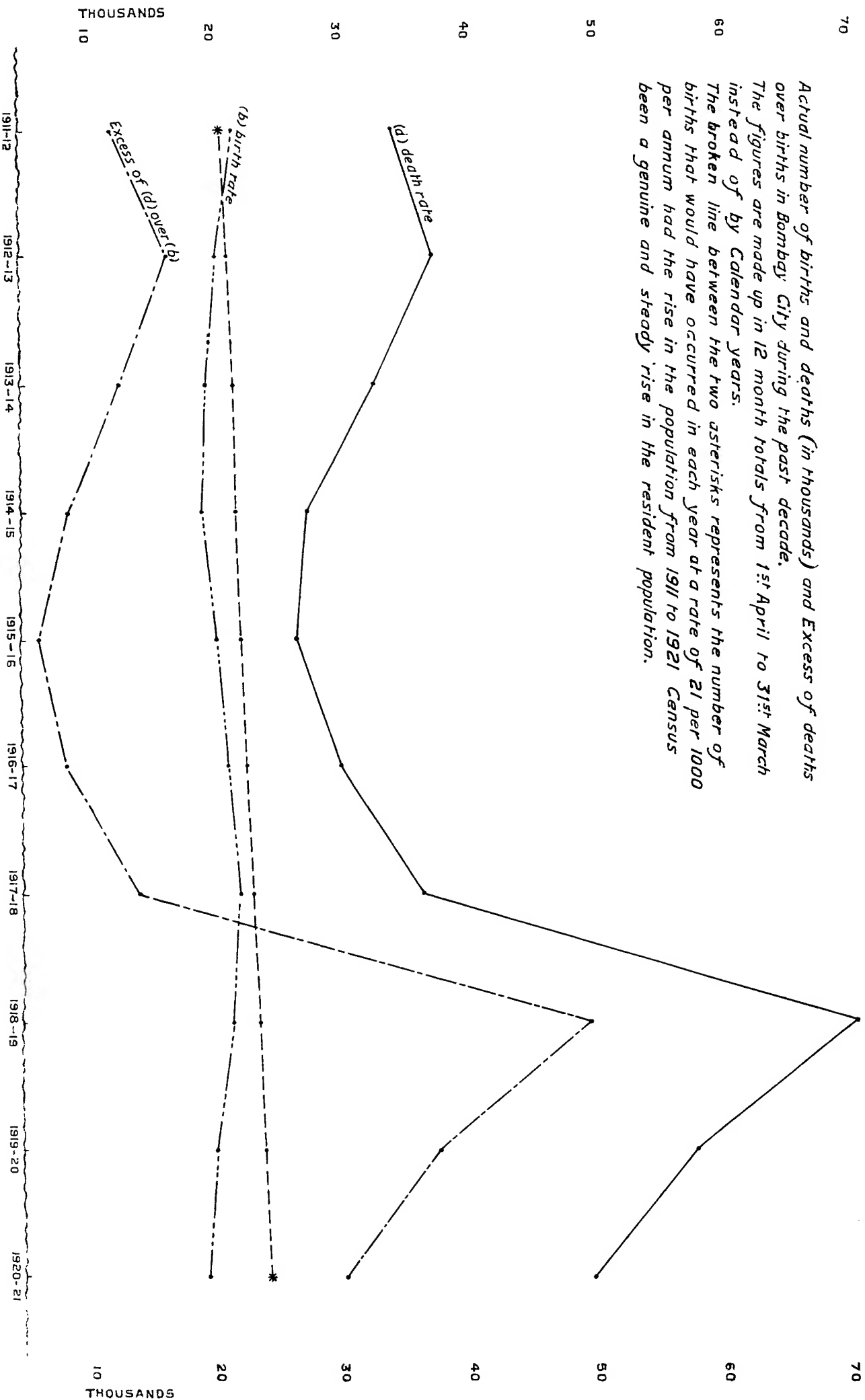
Prior to the year 1917 the deaths accordingly afford no evidence of a substantial increase in the population and we know that in the 5 years 1906 to 1911 the rate of increase in death totals averaged only 324 per annum. It would, therefore, appear that of the two hundred thousand persons who have been added to the population, by far the greater part has been added in the last 3 or 4 years.

Influenza and cholera raised the annual deaths from 30,000 to the enormous totals of 58,000 and 68,000 in the years 1918 and 1919 respectively—whilst a recrudescence of influenza at the beginning and end of 1920 brought the total up to 45,000 for that year.

What the non-epidemic mortality would now be it is difficult to say. In the period 1913 to 1917, the average daily number of deaths was 83. In June and July 1920 the daily average for 3 consecutive non-epidemic weeks fell to 94, and figures as low as 78 and 82 were recorded.

* The whole of paras. 40 and 44 are contributed by Dr. J. E. Sandilands, Executive Health Officer of the Municipality.

Actual number of births and deaths (in thousands) and Excess of deaths over births in Bombay City during the past decade. The figures are made up in 12 month totals from 1st April to 31st March instead of by Calendar years. The broken line between the two asterisks represents the number of births that would have occurred in each year at a rate of 21 per 1000 per annum had the rise in the population from 1911 to 1921 Census been a genuine and steady rise in the resident population.



In the epidemic period 1918 to 1920 the City lost by excess of deaths over the average mortality no less than 100 thousand lives and the conclusion which suggest itself is that the exaggerated estimates of those who expected a population in the neighbourhood of $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions are neither in accordance with the Census results themselves nor with such subsidiary statistical information as is available to indicate the probable trend of events in the last 10 years.

Comparison between the Annual number of Deaths in the two non-epidemic periods-1891 to 1895 and 1913 to 1917.

			1912	...	38,954
1891	...	23,847	1913	...	31,806
1892	...	26,518	1914	...	31,853
1893	...	23,142	1915	...	23,681
1894	...	27,330	1916	...	30,574
1895	...	25,081	1917	...	33,390
1896	...	33,451	1918	...	58,388
1897	...	Plague.	1919	...	68,610
			1920	...	45,839

41. A diagram is also given showing births and deaths in the Island during the 120 months.*

Attention is drawn to the shape of the curve of births, and the note on the diagram. The birth curve, if smoothed, is a horizontal line. This I take to indicate that the additions to Bombay's population during the last decade, *and more*, have been mainly persons who leave their families behind them, or maintain a pied-a-terre in their old villages to which they send their wives at the time of approaching childbirth, rather than persons who settle down and make a permanent home in the City.

42. Diagrams in Chapter I of the General Report also compare the birth rate and death rate for the decade in Bombay City with those for all British Registration Districts. It will be seen that in births Bombay is always far below the Presidency. Nor is there any correspondence between the rise and fall of the two curves. In the case of deaths this correspondence exists in all years except 1919, when Bombay was incomparably more unhealthy than the mofussil, losing 8,445 persons by Cholera, and 24,000 by Respiratory Diseases.

43. From the death curves there is again reason to think that Bombay was rather empty during 1915 to 1917. It is quite possible that fear of being recruited may have kept people in their villages during those years, while the high prices in the City were a deterrent. By 1919, when recruiting had ceased and the prices in villages were now so high that life in the City presented no great expectation of still further demands on the purse, the deterrent influences had passed away. For these reasons it is probable that the intercensal figures for 1915 to 1918 given above are very much too high, but the figure for 1919 more or less correct.

44. To return to the year 1919, in Bombay City the death rate from Respiratory Diseases is the index of the Influenza deaths. The following are the actual deaths from Cholera, Influenza and Respiratory Diseases, 1917-1919:—

	1917.	1918.	1919.
Cholera	61	1,682	8,445
Influenza	5	3,964	1,942
Respiratory Diseases	11,000	23,500	24,000

* By an oversight in preparing the diagram the two curves have been entitled death rate and birth rate instead of, as they are, actual numbers of Deaths and Births.

Deducting Cholera (8,000) from the total deaths (68,000) in 1919 the remaining (60,000) will exceed the figure (58,000) for 1918. In other words Influenza persisted in Bombay and obviously from the Chart did not persist in the rest of the Presidency. And this is well known, although there was not quite so much talk about the 1919 "Flu" because the deaths were spread over a longer period.

SECTION 7.—DENSITY.

45. Density at the present Census is illustrated by means of the dotted map, which explains itself. By the help of the large reference map ‡ the location of any individual patch of dense population or any sparsely populated area can be secured. Most of the thin regions in the central portions of the Island are railway properties, which necessarily contain fewer persons. Nevertheless it is important to remember that a railway yard is not a health-giving open space to the same extent as a public park would be; and this has to be borne in mind when interpreting the map.

46. One of the advantages of this method of exhibiting density is that it is not dependent upon accurate measurements. So long as the boundaries of the units adopted are correctly marked in, their area is immaterial. The importance of this will be understood when the difficulties explained in Section 4 of this Chapter are borne in mind.

47. The density of Bombay Town and Island as a whole is 78 persons per acre.* The density of the 1911 population on the then reported area was 64. The density in London in 1911 was 60. London is here used in the sense of the Administrative County of London with a population of $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions.† On the area of greater London density would no doubt be less.

48. A second diagram illustrates density by sections. To interpret the diagram it is to be understood that the height of each step in the curve is the density per acre, and the width of each step is the actual number of persons in the section. As has been explained the heights are subject to an error of approximately $\pm 2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The widths are correct, or rather are subject to none but the ordinary census error of under-enumeration, an unknown error which is always a minus, is not believed to be large, and is believed to be not proportionately higher than in other countries.

49. The annexed table gives the uncorrected, reported densities per acre of the sections for all past Censuses; but these densities for past Censuses are subject to large errors as already explained.

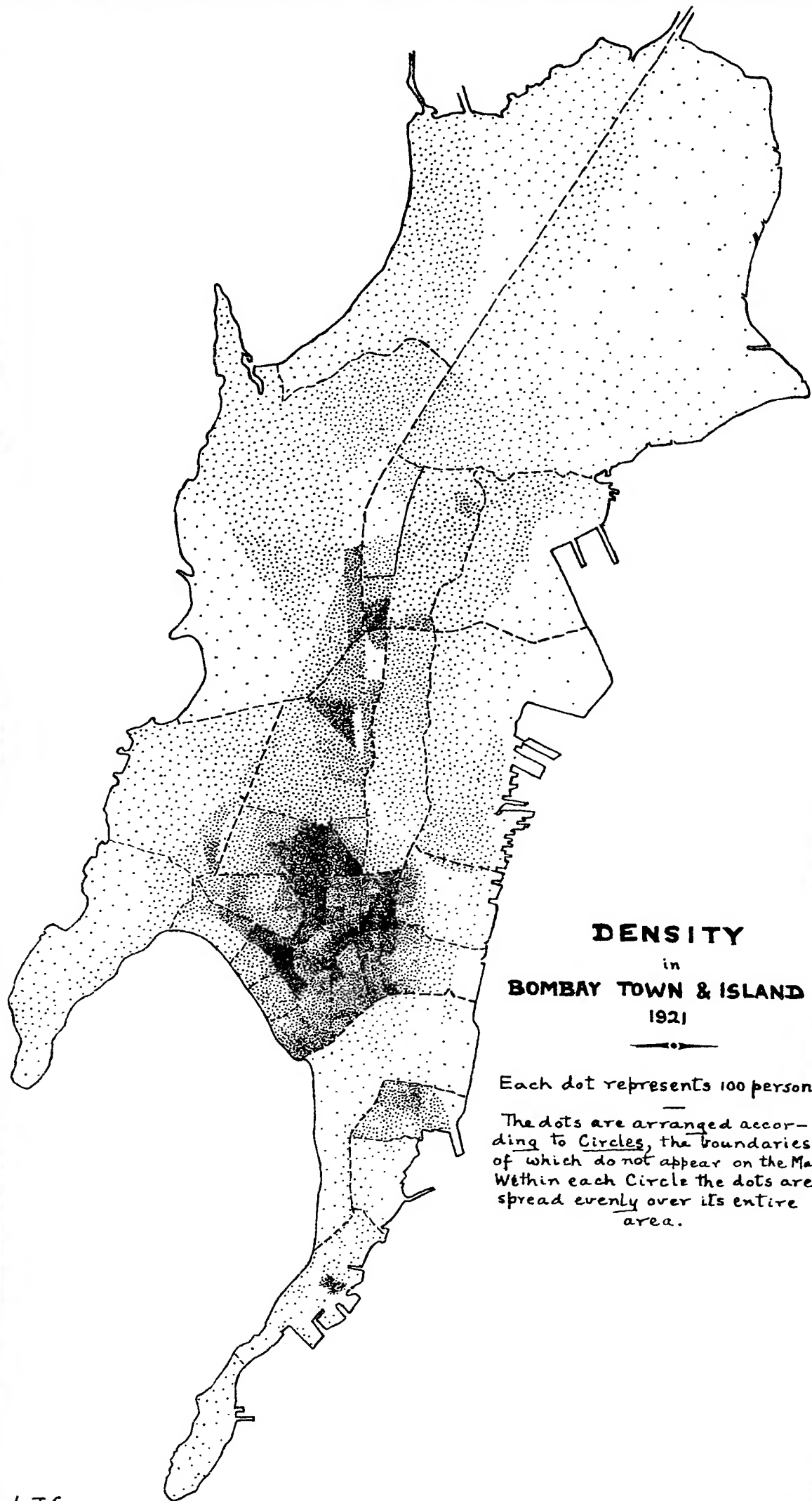
Uncorrected densities per acre in the different Sections since 1881.

Section.	Number of persons per acre.				
	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
A Ward—					
Upper Colaba ...	20	30	27	11	23
Lower Colaba ...	56	52	49	70	72
Fort, South ...	27	30	25	26	31
Fort, North ...	258	247	171	158	195
Esplanade ...	21	16	16	26	22
B Ward—					
Chakla ...	726	624	473	470	489
Mandvi ...	261	227	191	202	206
Umarkhadi ...	526	498	460	434	469
Dongri ...	118	106	90	95	69

* Or in other words, if the population of Bombay stood at even intervals over the whole Island (including inland waters) each person would occupy an area approximately 8×8 yards.

† The provisional figures of the 1921 Census, as reported in the newspapers, show that the population of the Administrative County of London has not increased. So the density will be much the same as before.

‡ This map is missing from some copies of this Report.



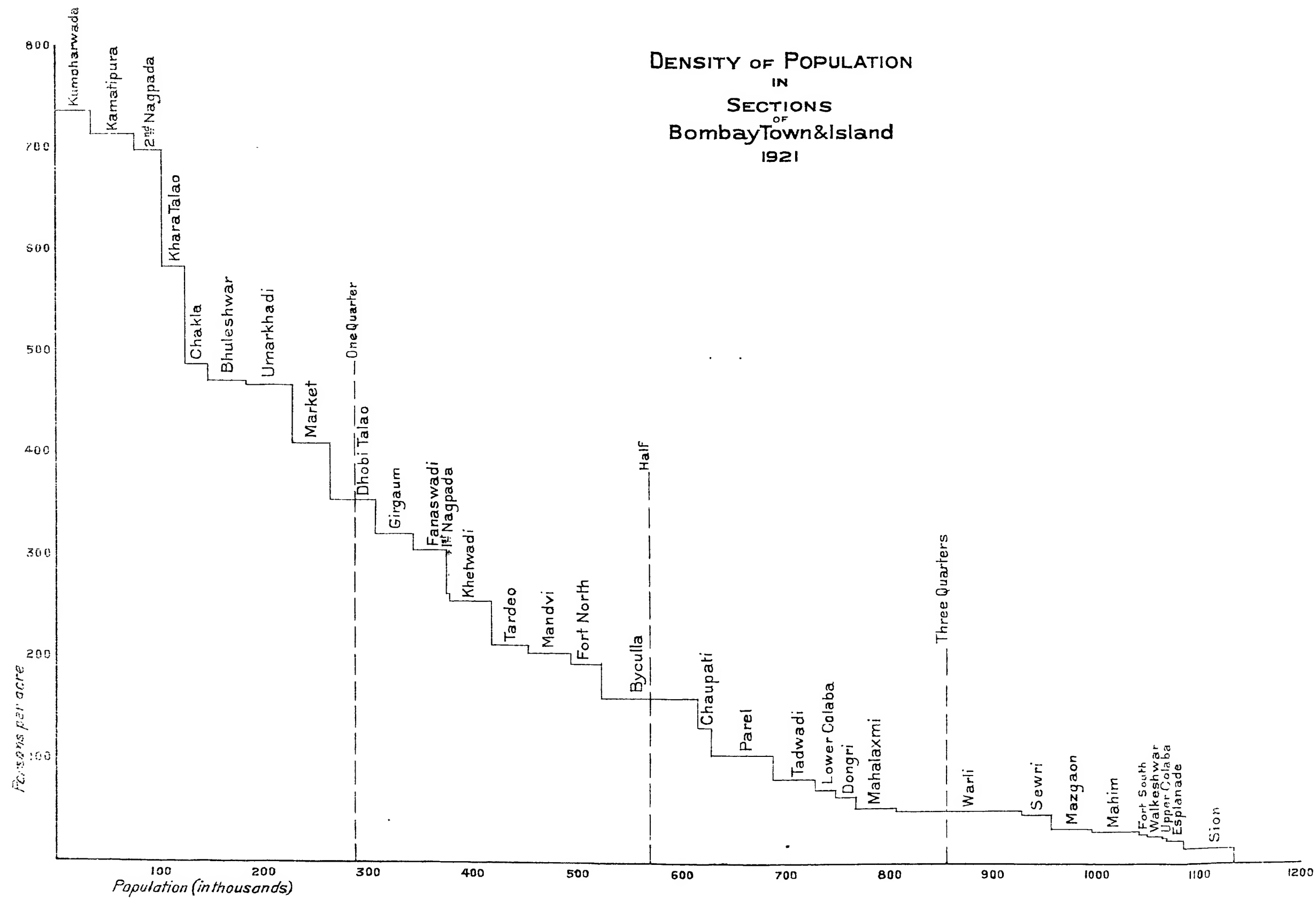
DENSITY
in
BOMBAY TOWN & ISLAND
1921

Each dot represents 100 persons.

The dots are arranged according to Circles, the boundaries of which do not appear on the Map. Within each Circle the dots are spread evenly over its entire area.

L.T.S.

DENSITY OF POPULATION IN SECTIONS OF Bombay Town & Island 1921



Section.	Number of persons per acre.				
	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
C Ward—					
Market ...	558	502	319	339	412
Dhobi Talao ...	402	401	296	338	357
Fanaswadi ...	189	192	131	219	306
Bhuleshwar ...	508	506	399	481	471
Kumbharwada ...	778	699	598	602	737
Khara Talao ...	700	649	556	552	582
D Ward—					
Khetwadi ...	175	169	159	188	256
Girgaum ...	206	217	119	247	320
Chaupati ...	100	103	60	102	131
Walkeshwar ...	21	24	19	20	31
Mahalaxmi ...	17	46	28	41	58
E Ward—					
Tardeo ...	90	83	92	121	213
Kamatipura ...	438	442	404	556	714
1st Nagpada ...	323	376	357	218	260
2nd Nagpada ...	482	552	547	638	699
Byculla ...	29	51	113	147	161
Tadwadi ...	31	44	38	59	82
Mazagaon ...	49	59	45	41	34
F Ward—					
Parel ...	17	26	60	82	107
Sewri ...	13	14	21	38	50
Sion ...	4	5	6	7	16
G Ward—					
Mahim ...	19	10	21	24	32
Warli ...	10	17	25	49	53

50. To understand this Table it is particularly important to remember that in the peripheral sections, dock basins, salt pans, &c., are included in the total area. This means that the density *per acre of occupiable dry land* is really higher than the figure shown. This particularly applies to Esplanade, Mandvi and Dongri with their large dock basins, and to Sion with its salt pans and lakes. Secondly it must be remembered that the boundaries of Mahalaxmi, Byculla, Parel, Mahim and Warli were almost certainly different in 1881 from what they were in 1901. But this does not necessarily mean that the densities in 1881 were wrongly calculated, but only that they applied to sections bearing the same names but not coterminous with those of 1901 and following Censuses. Thirdly the uncertainty regarding areas of sections in 1901 and 1911 has to be remembered. And lastly it must be remembered that the 1901 densities were calculated on a population thinned out by plague emigration, and by plague losses not yet refilled.

51. Subject to these remarks it seems to be a fact that *the central portions of the island declined in density after 1881, but have now begun to fill up again.* This last point is very important. Undeniably the central portions of the city are far more densely crowded than is compatible with sanitation, and if it is true, as seems to be the case, that they are now increasing in density after temporarily thinning out, the fact is very deplorable.

52. The phenomenon of population thinning out in the central portions of a City and increasing in the outlying portions is well illustrated by London (p. 42 of the General Report on the Census of England and Wales, 1911).

53. Every big city is liable to contain regions in which the day population is greater than the night and *vice versa*. In London this is peculiarly the case with the "City of London." In 1911 the recorded night population of the Census was 19,657, giving a density of only 29 persons per acre. A special day count was taken subsequently, and it was found that "364,061 persons were engaged during the day-time within the 'walls and liberties' of the city." This would give a density of 539. This remarkable difference would very likely be found to be paralleled in the case of the two sections, Esplanade and Fort

South in Bombay, which are pre-eminently the business quarter of the city. In the case of the Esplanade the large Maidans would prevent any great density even in the day. But in Fort South, if the Dock basins were excluded, the day density would certainly be very many times more than the recorded 31. It might be worth while next time to arrange for a special daylight count.

SECTION 8.—RELIGION.

54. The actual numerical changes in the different religions since 1911 are shown in the following Table. It will be seen that Mahomedans increased very little and the number of females of that religion showed an actual decline. There would always in Bombay be a tendency for the increase of females to exceed that of males since the immigrants must necessarily be largely males, and the sex proportions discussed in a later section show a steady increase in the disproportion between the sexes. But the present Census suffers under the additional disadvantage of the disturbance of the sex proportions everywhere by Influenza, which eliminated more females than males. This is referred to throughout the General Report. The estimated Influenza mortality given by the Sanitary Commissioner on pages 44 and 45 of his Report for 1918 shows 15,192 male and 12,663 female deaths in Bombay. This gives a proportion of 833 females to 1,000 male deaths, whereas the proportion of females to 1,000 males in the total population was 530 at the last Census and 525 at this:—

*Actual increases or decreases in each religion,
1911-1921.*

Religion.	Difference, 1911-1921, plus or minus.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Hindu	+ 173,648	+ 110,797	+ 62,851
Mahomedan	+ 5,339	+ 8,327	— 2,988
Christian	+ 10,814	+ 7,059	+ 3,755
Zoroastrian	+ 1,303	+ 1,184	+ 119
Jain	+ 3,424	+ 2,191	+ 1,232
Jew	+ 951	+ 556	+ 395

55. The next Table gives the percentage distribution of the whole population by religion for each Census since 1872. It will be seen that the percentage of Christians remains singularly constant. The percentage of Zoroastrians steadily diminishes. This is natural. Christians are kept up by increase in the number of European and Anglo-Indians, whereas in the case of Zoroastrians, although there is said to be an inflow of that religion from the coast regions to the north, such a movement is not very considerable. Jains show the same fluctuations in Bombay City as in the general population of the Presidency, for which see Chapter IV of the General Report. There is little doubt that these fluctuations are largely due to changes in enumeration. In 1891 there seems to have been a sort of boom, if a slang term can be condoned, in returning one's religion as Jain. Except at that Census the proportion is fairly constant. Of the two main religions it is interesting to note that Hindus are gaining and Musalmans losing ground:—

*Percentage distribution of the population of Bombay by Religion,
1872-1921.*

Religion.	1872.	1881	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
Hindu	63.3	65.2	66.1	65.5	67.8	71.2
Mahomedan	21.6	20.5	18.9	20.1	18.3	15.7
Christian	5.4	5.5	5.5	5.8	5.8	5.8
Zoroastrian	6.8	6.2	.8	6.0	5.2	4.5
Jain	2.3	2.2	.1	1.6	2.1	2.0
Jew	0.5	0.4	.6	0.8	0.7	0.6
Others	0.1	...	...	...	0.1	0.2

MAPS

Showing

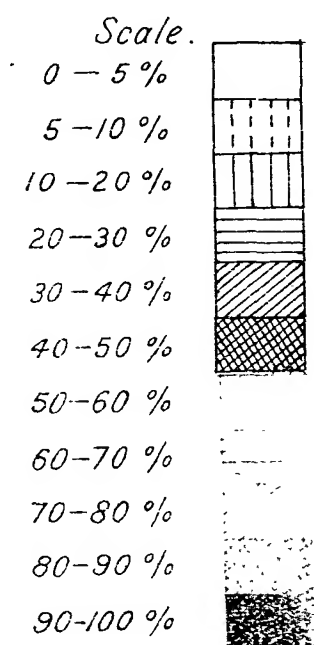
DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIONS

in

BOMBAY TOWN & ISLAND

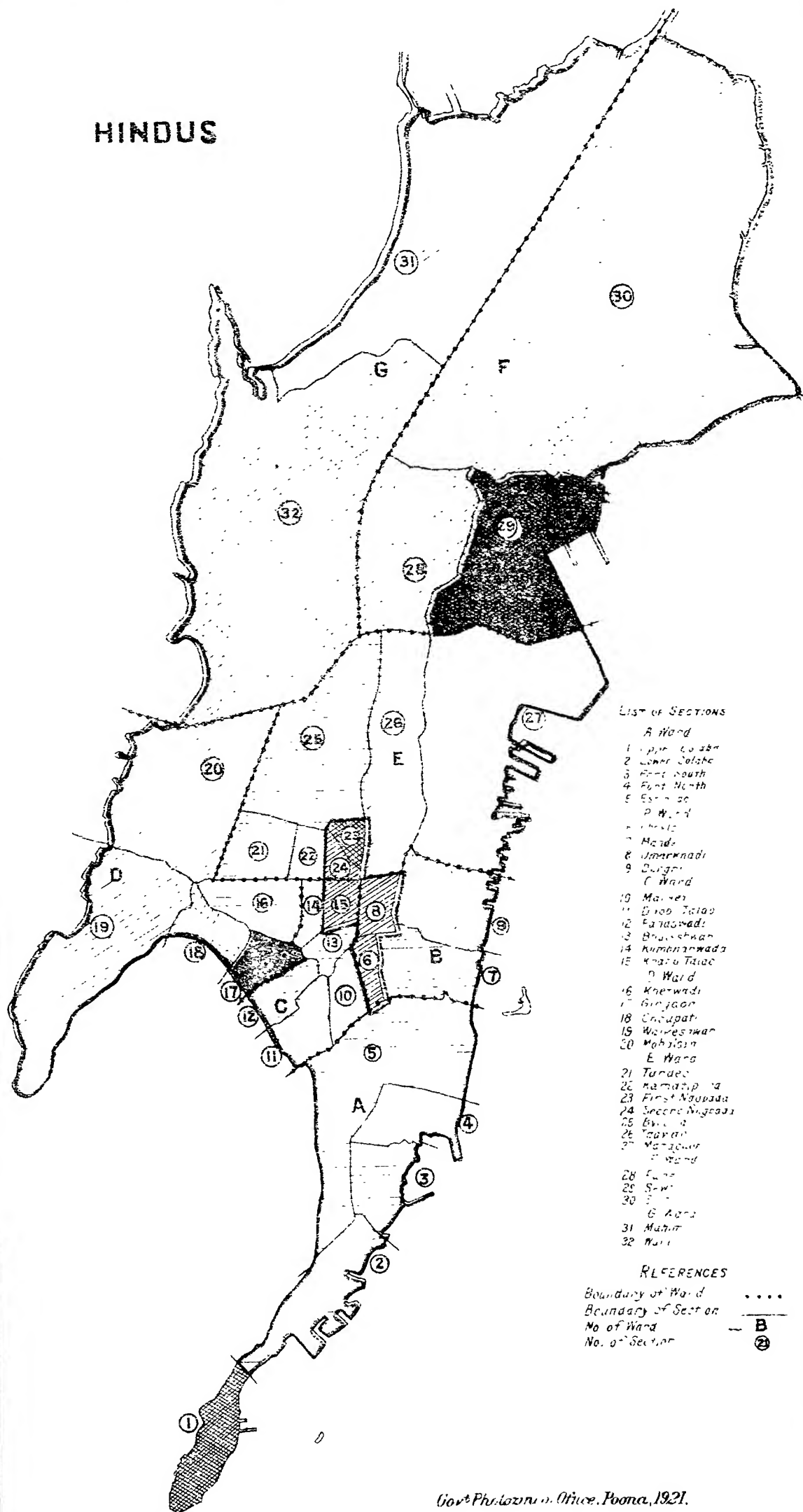
1921

In the four maps which follow the percentages of each religion to the total population of each SECTION are shown. All percentages above 50 are in red, & below 50 in black. The areas in which any religion is in absolute majority over all others, i.e. the red areas, are also for clearness outlined in red. It will be seen that Hindus are in absolute majority in 26 Sections, and Musalmans in 4. In the remaining two Sections (Nos 1 and 23) no one religion is in absolute majority.



Jains have percentages of 15.5 in Section 10 Market, 11.9 in Section 7 Mandvi and 5.1 in Section 6 Chakla. Jews have a percentage of 18.1 percent in Section 23 1st Nagpada. Otherwise no religion having a percentage of 5.0% is omitted from the maps.

HINDUS



LIST OF SECTIONS

A Ward

- 1 Upper Ghat
- 2 Lower Ghat
- 3 First South
- 4 First North
- 5 Second
- 6 Third
- 7 Fourth
- 8 Jambhadi
- 9 Durgam
- 10 C Ward
- 11 Malabar
- 12 Durgam Talao
- 13 Patashwar
- 14 Bhambhadi
- 15 Kumbhwar
- 16 Durgam Talao

D Ward

- 16 Kumbhadi
- 17 Ghat
- 18 Chhatrapati
- 19 Wairwar
- 20 Mahad

E Ward

- 21 Tander
- 22 Mahad
- 23 First Mahad
- 24 Second Mahad
- 25 Third
- 26 Fourth
- 27 Mahad

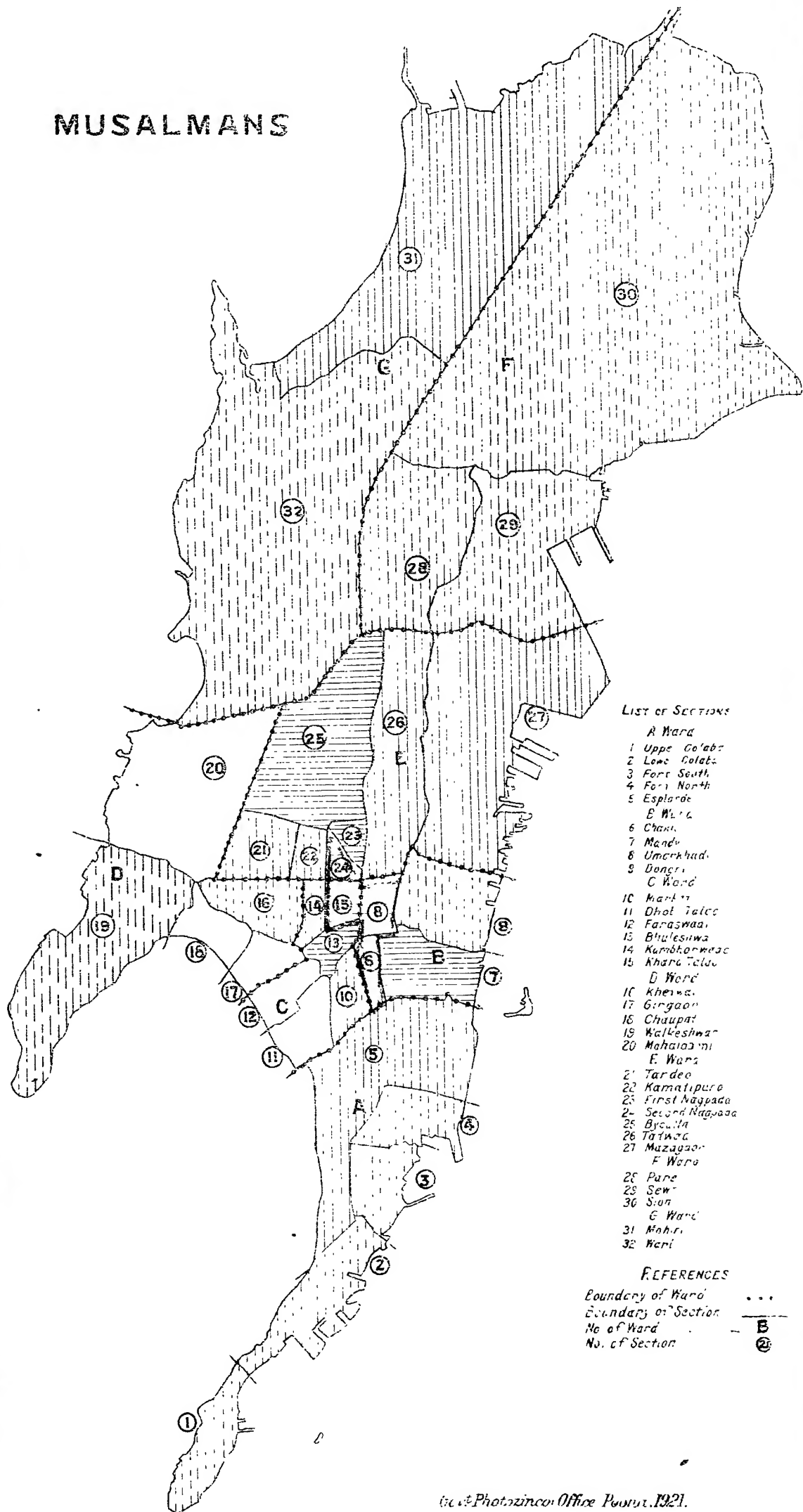
F Ward

- 28 First
- 29 Second
- 30 Third
- 31 Mahad
- 32 Mahad

REFERENCES

- Boundary of Ward
 Boundary of Section
 No. of Ward B
 No. of Section 2

MUSALMANS



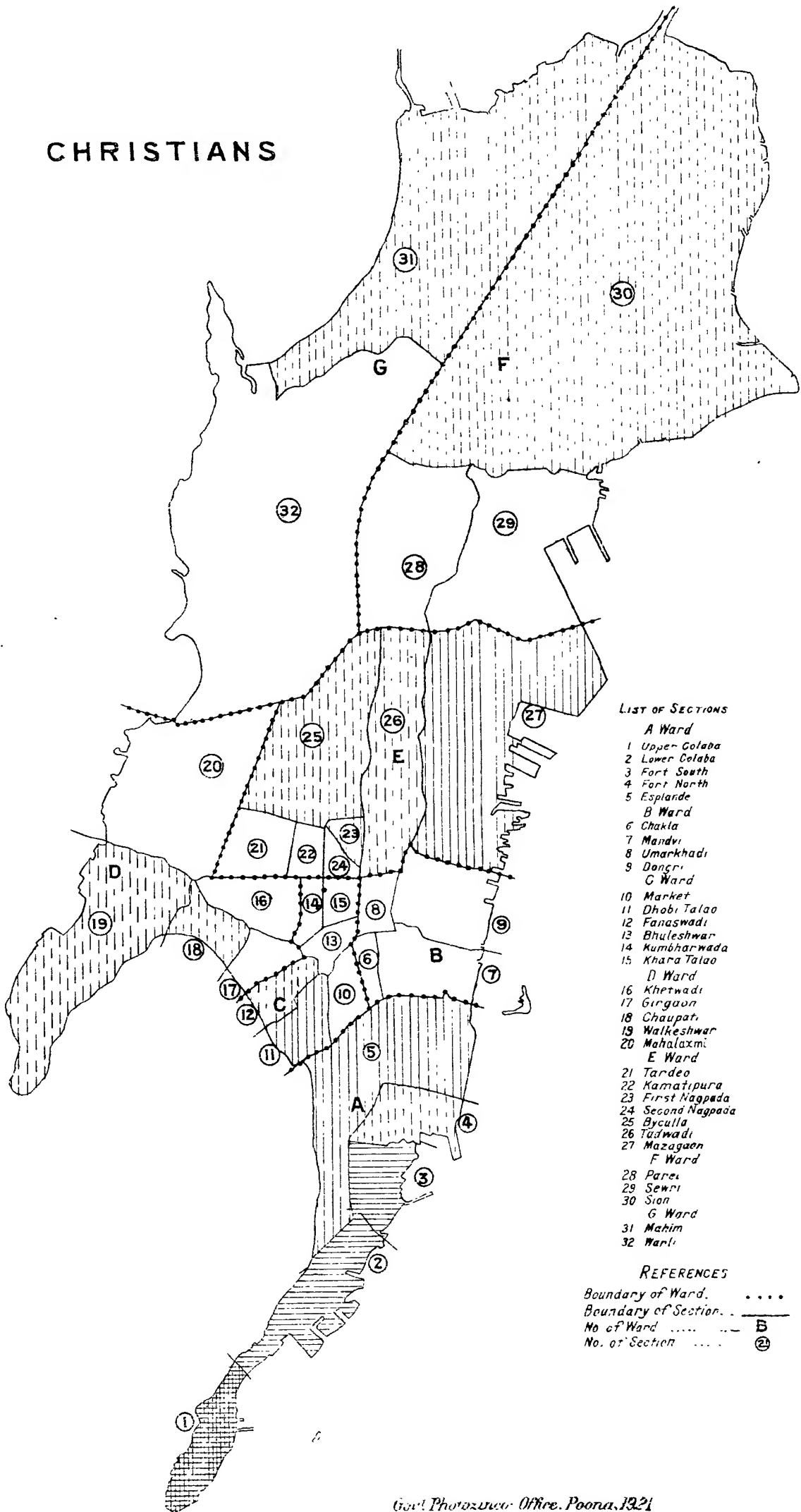
LIST OF SECTIONS

- A Ward
1 Upper Golab
2 Lower Golab
3 Fort South
4 Fort North
5 Esplanade
B Ward
6 Chauri
7 Mandi
8 Umekhad
9 Dongri
C Ward
10 Market
11 Dhot Talao
12 Farashada
13 Bhuleshiwa
14 Kumbharmar
15 Khara Talao
D Ward
16 Kherwa
17 Gangaon
18 Chaupat
19 Warkeshwar
20 Mahalaxmi
E Ward
21 Tardeo
22 Kamatipura
23 First Nagpada
24 Second Nagpada
25 Byculla
26 Tatha
27 Mazgaon
F Ward
28 Pare
29 Sew
30 Son
31 Mohri
32 Weri

REFERENCES

Boundary of Ward ...
Boundary of Section — B —
No. of Ward — 2 —
No. of Section

CHRISTIANS



LIST OF SECTIONS

A Ward

- 1 Upper Colaba
- 2 Lower Colaba
- 3 Fort South
- 4 Fort North
- 5 Esplanade

B Ward

- 6 Chakla
- 7 Mandvi
- 8 Umakhadi
- 9 Dongri

C Ward

- 10 Market
- 11 Dhobi Talao
- 12 Fanaswadi
- 13 Bhuleshwar
- 14 Kumbharwada
- 15 Khara Talao

D Ward

- 16 Khetwadi
- 17 Girgaon
- 18 Chaupati
- 19 Walkeshwar
- 20 Mahalaxmi

E Ward

- 21 Tardeo
- 22 Kamatipura
- 23 First Nagpada
- 24 Second Nagpada
- 25 Byculla
- 26 Tadjwadi
- 27 Mazgaon

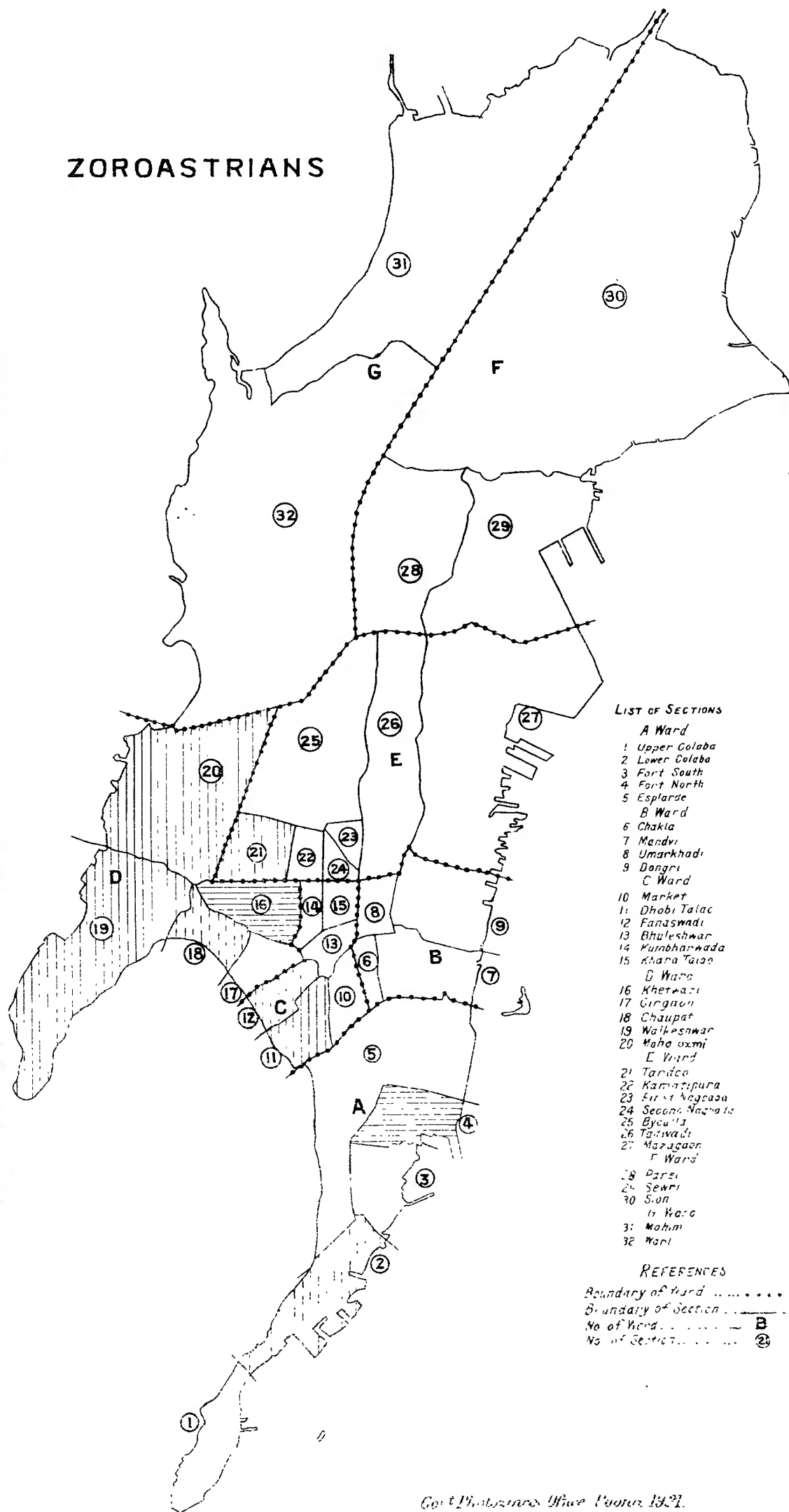
F Ward

- 28 Pare
- 29 Sewri
- 30 Sion
- 31 Mahim
- 32 Worli

REFERENCES

- Boundary of Ward.
- Boundary of Section. B
- No. of Ward. 24
- No. of Section.

ZOROASTRIANS



LIST OF SECTIONS

A Ward

- 1 Upper Colaba
- 2 Lower Colaba
- 3 Fort South
- 4 Fort North
- 5 Esplanade

B Ward

- 6 Chakla
- 7 Mandvi
- 8 Umakhadi
- 9 Dongri

C Ward

- 10 Market
- 11 Dhobi Talao
- 12 Fanaswadi
- 13 Bhuleshwar
- 14 Kumbharwada
- 15 Khara Talao

D Ward

- 16 Khetwazi
- 17 Girgaon
- 18 Chaupat
- 19 Walkeshwar
- 20 Maho oxmi

E Ward

- 21 Tardoo
- 22 Kamatipura
- 23 First Nagpada
- 24 Second Nagpada
- 25 Byculla
- 26 Tardoo
- 27 Mazgaon

F Ward

- 28 Parsi
- 29 Sewri
- 30 Son
- 31 Mohm
- 32 Wari

REFERENCES

Boundary of Ward
 Boundary of Section
 No of Ward B
 No of Section 2

56. The regional distribution of the religions within the Island is shown in the following Table and Maps. Comparison with 1901 shows that there is little if any change in this distribution. Then, as now, 2nd Nagpada, Khara Talao, Umarkhadi and Chakla were the stronghold of Islam:—

Percentage Table of the population of Sections of Bombay by Religion, 1921.

Section.	Hindus.	Mahomedans.	Jains.	Zoroastrians.	Christians.	Jews.	Others.
1. Upper Colaba ...	45.0	6.9	0.0	1.4	46.5	0.2	0.0
2. Lower Colaba ...	62.4	6.7	0.5	5.8	23.2	1.2	0.2
3. Fort, South ...	60.9	6.9	...	1.6	28.2	2.4	0.0
4. Fort, North ...	56.2	6.0	3.3	26.8	7.4	0.1	0.2
5. Esplanade ...	64.4	11.8	0.1	2.7	19.8	0.5	0.7
6. Chakla ...	37.6	57.0	5.1	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0
7. Mandvi ...	65.5	21.3	11.9	0.0	0.2	1.1	0.0
8. Umarkhadi ...	32.6	61.1	1.8	0.0	1.6	2.9	0.0
9. Dongri ...	87.2	9.3	1.1	0.0	1.4	1.0	0.0
10. Market ...	70.2	10.1	15.5	0.6	3.6	0.0	0.0
11. Dhobi Talao ...	59.6	3.3	1.3	18.8	17.0	0.0	0.0
12. Fanaswadi ...	87.1	1.4	0.5	5.8	5.2	0.0	0.0
13. Bhuleshwar ...	66.5	27.6	4.5	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
14. Khumbarwada ...	89.0	8.0	2.3	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.0
15. Khara Talao ...	30.4	67.3	1.7	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0
16. Khetwadi ...	66.2	9.1	1.2	20.0	3.2	0.1	0.2
17. Girgaum ...	93.6	0.9	1.3	1.5	2.7	0.0	0.0
18. Chaupati ...	82.7	3.5	2.0	6.3	5.5	0.0	0.0
19. Walkeshwar ...	70.1	6.0	1.0	12.9	9.5	0.0	0.5
20. Mahalaxmi ...	74.1	4.3	0.8	16.5	3.8	0.0	0.5
21. Tardeo ...	60.6	16.7	1.3	17.4	3.6	0.1	0.3
22. Kamatipura ...	79.6	17.5	0.3	0.1	1.1	0.4	1.0
23. 1st Nagpada ...	47.8	22.3	0.9	0.2	10.7	18.1	0.0
24. 2nd Nagpada ...	35.9	60.6	0.4	0.4	1.2	1.5	0.0
25. Byculla ...	67.1	20.8	1.1	1.6	8.4	1.6	0.0
26. Tadwadi ...	76.4	10.5	0.9	2.4	8.5	1.3	0.0
27. Mazagaon ...	72.8	11.8	1.1	2.5	11.4	0.1	0.3
28. Parel ...	87.1	5.3	1.0	3.0	3.4	0.2	0.0
29. Sewri ...	92.6	5.4	0.2	0.3	1.4	0.1	0.0
30. Sion ...	83.1	7.0	1.4	1.7	6.2	0.5	0.1
31. Mahmm ...	79.0	11.5	0.7	0.8	8.0	0.0	0.0
32. Warli ...	88.6	5.1	0.7	1.4	3.7	0.5	0.0

57. The sex proportions of the different religions as shown in the next Table are not without interest. Jains will be seen to have always had a very low proportion of females. This is presumably due to the fact that they are traders from the north, who leave their families in their permanent homes. Subject to certain limitations the proportion of females to males is a rough and ready index of the permanence or otherwise of any community in any area. From this it will be seen that Hindus are considerably more a settled resident community than are Mahomedans:—

Number of females per thousand males in each religion, 1872—1921.

Religion.	Females per 1,000 males.					
	1871.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
Hindu ...	608	664	571	610	521	531
Mahomedan ...	634	679	633	617	507	452
Christian ...	461	521	493	521	486	480
Zoroastrian ...	909	931	910	904	903	864
Jain ...	246	341	311	381	329	357
Jew ...	...	...	...	...	883	870

58. As some uncertainty existed in my mind both regarding the meaning of the term Zoroastrian, *i. e.*, whether including Iranis or not, and if so, then what proportion of the total Zoroastrians would be found to be Iranis, I had the slips of this Religion specially sorted by caste and birth-place. Dr. Jivanji J. Modi, C.I.E., who was consulted, informed me that the term Irani applied to recent Zoroastrian immigrants from Persia. An immigrant and his descendants are called Iranis for about a century, after which they will gradually have become so absorbed into the Parsee community that they will be called Parsees. There is therefore no absolute fixed dividing line between the two. The following are the figures of returns actually found on the slips:—

	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Total Zoroastrians	... 52,234	27,948	24,286
Parsees	... 50,833	27,005	23,828
Iranis	... 1,401	943	458

The following is the distribution of Iranis only by birth place:—

	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Born in India	... 719	488	231
Born in Persia	... 633	419	214
Born elsewhere	... 49	36	13

As regards regional distribution of Iranis within the Island the following sections contained the most:—

Khetwadi	... 321	Market	... 51
Dhobi Talao	... 178	Fanaswadi	... 52
Fort, North	... 160	Byculla	... 38
Walkeshwar	... 114	Mazagaon	... 38
Girgaum	... 91	Parel	... 28
Bhuleshwar	... 87	Fort, South	... 24
Tardeo	... 64	Esplanade	... 23
Lower Colaba	... 55		

No other section had more than 20, and some nil.

SECTION 9.—BIRTHPLACE.

59. The fact that the Bombay population is largely immigrants—using that term of course in its Census sense—is well known. The percentage of the total population which has actually been born in Bombay has steadily declined at each Census as is shown in the margin. We have now reached a condition of things possibly unexampled. Where the matter will end it is difficult to see. But since the curves and figures of births given in Section 6 of this Chapter show that the number born in the City is not apparently either diminishing or increasing it may be assumed that the percentage will again show a fall at the next Census.

60. The actual distribution of the population according to birthplace is shown in the next Table for the last two Censuses—

Distribution of every 1,000 of the population of Bombay by Birthplace, 1921 and 1911.

	1921.	1911.
Bombay City	... 160	196
Ratnagiri	... 200	221
Kolaba	... 37	38
Thana and Bombay Suburban District	... 13	16

	1921.	1911.
Districts of the Central Division	... 206	166
Surat	... 34	36
Ahmedabad	... 15	17
Other Districts of Gujarat	... 6	5
Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara	... 9	8
Sind	... 6	2
Cutch	... 32	37
Kathiawar	... 62	52
Kolhapur, S. M. C. States and Savantwadi	... 13	14
Madras Presidency	... 13	9
Punjab, Delhi and the N. W. F. Province	... 11	11
United Provinces	... 60	52
Central Provinces and Berar	... 4	4
Bengal, Behar and Orissa and Assam	... 4	4
Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara	... 18	20
Hyderabad State	... 17	10
Baroda State	... 7	5
French and Portuguese possessions in India	... 29	33
Other Asiatic countries	... 8	7
Europe	... 9	7
Elsewhere (including Bombay unspecified)	... 27	30

61. The distribution of the immigrants by Wards varies. The distribution of persons born in Europe is naturally irregular. The actual numbers in each Ward are—

A Ward	... 4,361	E Ward	... 994
B Ward	... 79	F Ward	... 312
C Ward	... 23	G Ward	... 216
D Ward	... 597	Harbour, &c.	... 3,752

The large numbers recorded under Harbour, &c., means Floating Population, Railway Platforms, Harbour Island and Vagrants enumerated by the Police. The large majority of the figures 3,752 represents crews and passengers of ships in harbour, including at least one transport. This is referred to again below.

62. The distribution of those born in French and Portuguese possessions is as follows (in practice they will almost all be from Goa):—

A Ward	... 4,216	E Ward	... 6,146
B Ward	... 627	F Ward	... 1,466
C Ward	... 10,405	G Ward	... 3,342
D Ward	... 6,224	Harbour, &c.	... 1,685

63. The distribution of those born in Ratnagiri seems to be more even this time. In 1911 the percentage of persons born in that district to total population of each ward varied between 43·4 in F Ward and 9·7 in B Ward. This time the corresponding percentages are 32·8 and 10·2.

64. The actual numbers recorded from the various districts or Provinces of birth at all Censuses since 1881 are as given in the following Table, below which are given the proportionate figures for the same, treating the 1881 figure in each case as 100. A good many interesting points are brought out by the second Table of proportions. It is for instance clear that Thana was already supplying Bombay with as large a stream of immigrants as were likely to be attracted thither as early as 1881, and probably earlier. And the same is true of Cutch. It is probable that the Cutchi immigrants, who are mainly traders—Bhatias, Khojas, Vanis, &c., came to Bombay in large numbers in the great trade boom in the sixties, and the maximum was then reached. Poona has naturally always been a great source of Bombay immigration; but the stream has increased but little since 1881. The same applies to Surat. The Baroda stream is not as large now as 1891, such persons as want Mill labour going to Ahmedabad. The stream from Nagar and Nasik shows a sudden increase at this Census. This is referred to again below. The most important

growth is the stream from the Punjab and North India. It will be seen below that these immigrants have not so far brought their women folk. Should they do so the character of Bombay might be almost changed in a couple of generations:—

Actual numbers of immigrants into Bombay City from the more important districts of origin—1881-1921.

Birth-place.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
Ahmedabad ...	7,004	9,439	9,594	16,298	17,557
Surat ...	35,803	29,940	25,097	35,072	39,682
Thana (including the Bombay Suburban District).	17,051	15,128	10,557	15,705	14,797
Kolaba ...	11,506	28,851	21,100	37,119	43,180
Ratnagiri ...	126,190	162,586	145,835	216,060	235,566
Nasik ...	7,142	6,352	7,939	9,863	24,451
Ahmednagar ...	8,274	9,543	15,100	14,611	48,501
Poona ...	69,004	54,543	64,791	71,185	89,231
Sholapur ...	8,749	4,420	8,812	8,528	11,816
Satara ...	45,404	37,864	60,387	56,754	65,953
Cutch ...	45,333	38,000	28,179	36,470	37,480
Kathiawar ...	32,568	39,050	45,531	58,775	72,435
Kolhapur ...	4,220	4,248	5,993	9,309	9,261
Baroda ...	3,906	8,857	5,625	4,501	6,349
Hyderabad State ...	8,525	9,518	7,431	9,302	19,602
Madras ...	6,075	8,276	6,005	8,278	15,156
Rajputana ...	9,381	12,907	10,461	12,453	19,722
Punjab (including Delhi) ...	2,429	6,572	6,116	8,616	10,425
United Provinces { ...	...	...	...	50,682	70,911
Oudh { ...	8,722	8,831	6,043	...	...
Upper India { ...	...	15,393	...	...	...
North West Frontier Province(s). { ...	2,227	16,653	29,881	1,101	2,273
Central Provinces and Berar. ...	2,391	1,950	4,330	3,843	5,046
Central India Agency ...	2,088	2,966	2,407	4,005	3,360
Portuguese and French possessions in India.	21,938	21,399	18,794	32,106	34,111

Proportionate numbers of immigrants from the more important districts into Bombay City at each Census, taking the 1881 figure in each case as 100.

District.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
Ahmedabad ...	100	135	137	233	251
Surat ...	100	84	70	98	111
Thana ...	100	84	59	87	82
Kolaba ...	100	225	184	323	375
Ratnagiri ...	100	129	116	172	187
Nasik ...	100	89	111	138	344
Ahmednagar ...	100	115	183	177	586
Poona ...	100	79	94	103	129
Sholapur ...	100	51	101	98	135
Satara ...	100	83	133	125	145
Cutch ...	100	84	62	81	83
Kathiawar ...	100	120	140	180	221
Kolhapur ...	100	100	142	221	220
Baroda ...	100	224	144	115	162
Hyderabad State ...	100	112	87	109	230
Madras ...	100	136	99	136	250
Rajputana ...	100	138	112	133	210
Punjab and Delhi ...	100	270	257	355	429
North India * ...	100	375	329	475	671
Central Provinces ...	100	82	182	161	211
Central India Agency ...	100	142	115	194	161
French and Portuguese possessions.	100	98	86	147	156

65. The permanence or otherwise of any stream of immigration would ordinarily be indicated by the sex ratios. In Bombay as a whole the ratio of

* Including the North West Frontier Province and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

females to 1,000 males is 525. In the Bombay-born population it is, as would be expected, much higher, namely 785. The following are the other ratios :—

Ratio of females to 1,000 males in each stream of immigrants from the more important regions of birth.

Bombay Population as a whole	... 525
<i>Birth-place.</i>	
Bombay City	... 785
Ahmednagar	... 785
Nasik	... 765
Poona	... 716
Kolaba	... 600
Cutch	... 580
Hyderabad Deccan	... 543
Thana and Bombay Suburban District	... 535
Kathiawar	... 532
Ratnagiri	... 526
Satara	... 471
Surat	... 419
French and Portuguese possessions in India	... 411
Punjab, Delhi and the N. W. F. Province	... 199
United Provinces	... 167
Rajputana	... 154
Europe	... 264
Other Asiatic countries	... 206

66. The interesting fact therefore emerges that the Ahmednagar and Nasik immigrants have brought their wives and children with them. This may be due to either of two causes, *viz.* :—(i) that they have come to settle permanently, or (ii) that conditions were so bad in their villages that they had no option. The corresponding ratios of females to 1,000 males in 1911 for the Deccan Districts were—Ahmednagar 625, Nasik 610, Poona 692.

67. The same problem, permanence or otherwise of the immigration from particular Districts can also be studied from the point of view of the ratio of workers and dependents in each batch of immigrants. If the immigration is casual or temporary the proportion of female workers and of dependents will alike be low. The following figures are therefore significant :—

Proportion of workers and dependents in each batch of immigrants, Bombay City, 1921.

District of birth.	Percentage to total immigrants		
	Actual workers.		Dependents.
	Males	Females.	Both sexes.
Ahmednagar	42	18	40
Kolaba	47	10	43
Poona	46	12	42
Ratnagiri	52	12	36
Satara	56	10	34
Surat	56	5	39
Thana and Bombay Suburban	48	5	47
Cutch	44	3	53
Kathiawar	49	6	45
Rajputana	76	3	21
United Provinces	76	3	21
French and Portuguese Possessions in India.	57	10	33
The same for the total population of the City.	52	9	39

The Ahmednagar immigrants show up strongly in the matter of female actual workers, and Cutch shows up in the matter of dependents. The high proportion of dependents in the latter case is due to the wealthy character of the immigrants, who are almost entirely traders, viz.:—Bhatias, Vanis (both Hindu and Jain), Khojas and Memons, Lohanas and Brahmans. Naturally such immigrants can afford to support more dependents than the Marathas and Mahars from the Deccan.

68. The immigrants can also be studied by age periods. The three age periods are 0-15, 15-40 and 40 and over. These are not, in our opinion well chosen. The second and third should be 15—50 and 50 and over, as this would give us the measure of working ages, and dependents at each end of the scale. The proportions are :—

Proportions at different ages (both sexes combined) in each batch of immigrants, Bombay City, 1921.

District of Birth.	Percentage to total immigrants.		
	0-15.	15-40.	40 & over.
Ahmednagar	29	53	18
Kolaba	22	59	19
Poona	26	55	19
Ratnagiri	22	62	16
Satara	22	61	17
Surat	19	63	18
Thana and Bombay Suburban	23	58	19
Cutch	28	53	19
Kathiawar	23	59	18
Rajputana	13	72	15
United Provinces	13	69	18
French and Portuguese possessions in India.	16	63	21
The same for the total population of the City.	21	62	17

In this case a high proportion in the lowest age group means permanence of residence. The high proportion in the highest age group in the case of immigrants from French and Portuguese possessions is possibly due to a higher life value in the case of the Goanese.

69. City Table VI—Part II, which corresponds with Table VI—Part II, in the Bombay City Volume of 1911, again gives special statistics of immigrants by caste and occupation. The basis of the figures is explained in the note at the head of the Table. The table is a very long one, and complicated. It is, therefore, only possible to point out a few of the salient features.

70. In view of the great increase in immigrants from Ahmednagar it is interesting to note the castes. The following are the more important castes in 1911 and 1921 :—

Immigrants from Ahmednagar, 1911 and 1921.

Principal Castes.	Number of Immigrants.	
	1911.	1921.
Chambhar or Mochi	450	2,561
Dhed or Mahar	3,132	16,235
Maratha	4,006	12,046
Sheikh	1,432	1,889
Indian Christian	Not given	2,264

The number of Mahars is noticeable. The number of this caste enumerated in (1) Ahmednagar and (2) in Bombay but born at Ahmednagar in 1911 and 1921 were as follows:—

	1911.	1921.
Enumerated in Ahmednagar ...	72,411	39,278
Enumerated in Bombay but born in Ahmednagar.	3,132	16,235
	<hr/> 75,443	<hr/> 55,513

It will be seen that the reduction in this caste in the Ahmednagar District amounted to no less than 33,133 and of these no less than 13,103 came to Bombay.

71. Nor is the influx of Mahars confined to immigrants from the Nagar District. There appears to be a gradual drifting into Bombay of the great Mahar Caste of all the Marathi speaking districts, and especially the Deccan. Taking the following Districts—Nagar, Colaba, Nasik, Poona, Ratnagiri, Satara and Sholapur—we get the following figures of Mahar Immigrants to Bombay in 1911 and 1921:—

		Males.	Females.	Total.
1911	...	23,192	16,531	39,723
1921	...	42,667	27,667	70,334
Percentage increase in the 1911 figures.		<hr/> +84%	<hr/> +67%	<hr/> +77%

72. The total strength of the Mahar Caste including Dhed and Holiya has decreased by 3 per cent. since 1911. But the percentage decrease in the Central Division alone is 15 per cent. and the increase in Bombay City 37 per cent.

73. Of course the Bombay increase makes little difference on the vast number left in the mofussil. The caste strength in the Presidency is $1\frac{1}{3}$ rd million, and the number in Bombay only 92 thousand. But it has almost exactly doubled in twenty years, the strength being 46 thousand in 1901.

74. The Maratha figure is not capable of such exact comparison, because it involves the uncertainty which always exists between Marathas and Kunbis. Many a person who would be entered as Kunbi in his native village will assume the name Maratha on arrival in Bombay. Moreover the Kunbi immigrants from Nagar were not tabulated in Table VI—Part II for Bombay in 1911.

75. For the most part the occupations which are followed by immigrants of the different castes from any regions, or from all regions considered together, follow lines which would be expected. Thus most of the Marathas and lower castes will be found in Industrial Occupations, or in Insufficiently Described Occupations, which, as explained in the note to the Table, is mainly the simple entry “labourer;” most of the Wanis will be found under trade, the Brahmins under Professions and the Liberal Arts; the Indian Christians from Goa under Domestic Service; and so on. In the case of the head “Public Force and Administration” it will be found that the Punjab and United Provinces supply large numbers, but these represent to a large extent sepoy regiments which were in Colaba barracks at the time of the Census.

76. My impression as regards this Table is that as it now stands it is too detailed. At the next Census there should be more grouping of birthplaces. Thus all the Districts of the Central Division could be amalgamated, all Districts of the Karnatak, and so on. The selected castes might also with advantage be reduced.

SECTION 10.—EUROPEANS AND ANGLO-INDIANS.

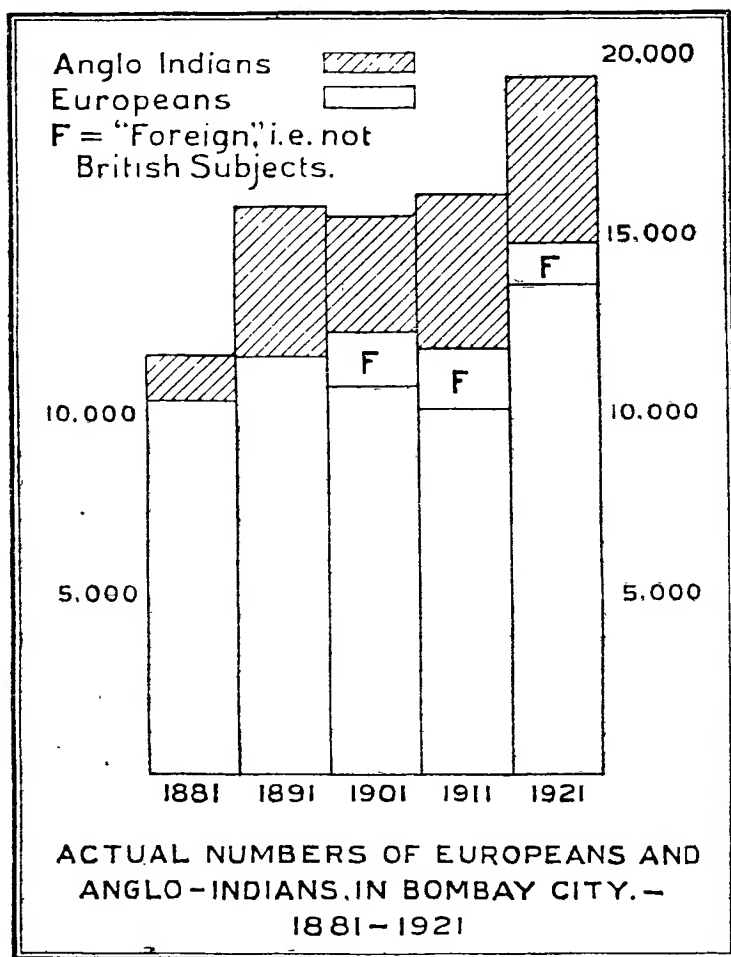
77. This seems to be the most suitable place to discuss the numbers of these two communities, since in the case of the former the figures in City Table VIII are to be compared with those in City Table VI—Part I.

78. The number of Europeans has increased proportionately more than the number of Anglo-Indians.

The numbers in 1901, 1911 and 1921 are as follows:—

		1901.	1911.	1921.
Anglo-Indians	...	3,258	4,188	4,724
Europeans	...	12,201	11,855	14,726

The actual numbers since 1881 are shown in the annexed diagram—



E/L. 220

79. These two classes of the population together have not however increased in the long run much more rapidly in proportion than the general population, as the following figures will show:—

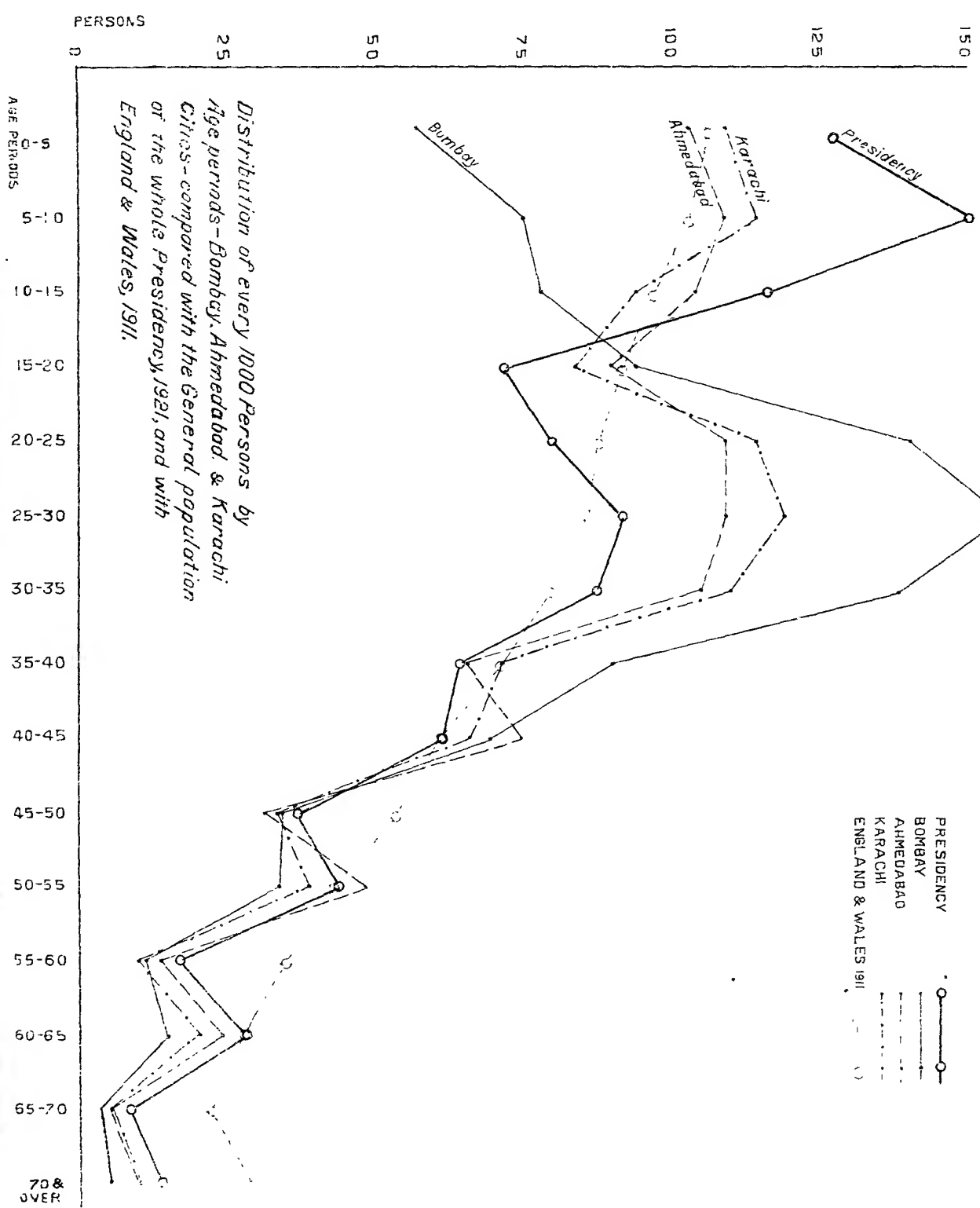
Proportionate increases in (i) Total population of Bombay and (ii) number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians in Bombay City since 1881.

Class.	Proportion at each Census taking the 1881 figure in each case as 100.				
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
Total population	100	106.2	100.3	126.6	152.0
Europeans and Anglo-Indians	100	136.6	133.6	138.4	167.3

80. The number of foreign Europeans has this time fallen considerably. The figures are only available since 1901, and are as shown in the margin. The reduction this time is no doubt due largely to the effect of War, and the consequent elimination of the German Trader. The Birth-place figures will not of course correspond exactly with the figures in City Table VIII, since some Europeans are born in India,

Foreign Europeans in Bombay, 1901 to 1921—

1901	... 1,494
1911	... 1,724
1921	... 1,182



Persons enumerated in Bombay and born in certain European Countries, 1911 and 1921.

	1911.	1921.
Germany ...	257	15
Austria ...	206	37
Russia ...	70	37
Greece ...	75	40
Sweden ...	31	11
Switzerland ...	72	46

and some Indians in Europe. But the figures of European Birth-places in City Table VI-Part I show the reductions in the case of individual countries as shown in the margin.

On the other hand the numbers born in the United Kingdom rise from 5,760 to 9,465, an increase of 3,705, not to mention the returns of Europe Unspecified which rise from 6 to 217, that return being almost always equivalent to the United Kingdom.

81. That Anglo-Indians often return themselves as Europeans is well-known and is borne out by the figures. Apart from the fact that there cannot be such a disparity (3 Europeans for every Anglo-Indian,) as the figures indicate, the comparison of 13,544 European British Subjects with 9,465 persons born in the United Kingdom is striking. Making every allowance for small English children born in India and enumerated there the disproportion seems too high.

SECTION 11.—AGE.

82. The age distribution of the population of cities is usually considerably different from that of the General Population of the country, the cities presenting the phenomenon of a deficiency of children and old persons and an excess of persons in the wage-earning periods. This is true of all our cities, but, *par excellence* of Bombay. The table which follows shows the distribution at this Census for all the seven Cities, and by way of comparison, for the Population of the whole Presidency. The two diagrams are also designed—one to show the comparison between age distribution in Bombay, Karachi and Ahmedabad with one another and with the Presidency; and the other to show the essential similarity between the distributions in Bombay at the last two Censuses. In the first mentioned diagram the age-distribution of the population of England and Wales, 1911, has been added as a matter of comparative interest :—

Distribution of every 1,000 of the population by age periods in the Cities of the Bombay Presidency, compared with the General Population of the Presidency, 1921.

Age group.	General Population of the Presidency.	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.	Karachi.	Poona City Municipality.	Sholapur.	Surat.	Hubli.
0-5	127.	58	103	109	101	117	115	120
5-10	151	75	109	115	120	125	120	118
10-15	116	78	104	94	110	115	115	109
15-20	72	94	90	84	93	86	90	80
20-25	80	141	109	114	101	96	97	98
25-30	92	156	109	119	101	100	93	101
30-35	88	138	105	110	94	94	87	99
35-40	64	90	66	72	68	58	67	58
40-45	62	69	74	66	71	65	65	70
45-50	37	34	31	33	36	31	38	32
50-55	44	33	48	38	45	46	47	50
55-60	17	11	13	10	16	14	18	14
60-65	28	15	24	21	27	33	24	30
65-70	8	3	5	5	6	6	8	5
70 and over	14	5	10	10	11	14	16	16

83. The different types of population studied on the basis of the percentage distribution of persons in the three age groups 0-15, 15-50 and 50 and over, have been discussed in Chapter V of the General Report, to which reference is invited. The normal distribution for this Presidency seems to be 39, 50, 11, and this represents a population increasing slightly from natural causes.

An increase in the first and last age groups and an increase in the middle one can be brought about either by the population being "Regressive" from "natural" causes or from its being "Seccessive" through Emigration, and a decrease in both the first and third in favour of the middle group will usually be due to the population being "Accessive" through immigration. The following shows the distribution in the Cities of this Presidency :—

Age group.	General Population.	Bombay.	Ahmed- abad.	Karachi.	Poona City Municipi- pality.	Surat.	Sholapur.	Hubli.
0-15	39	21	32	33	33	36	35	35
15-50	50	72	58	60	56	53	54	54
50 and over	11	7	10	9	11	11	11	11

Bombay, therefore, stands out preeminently as the most "Accessive" case.

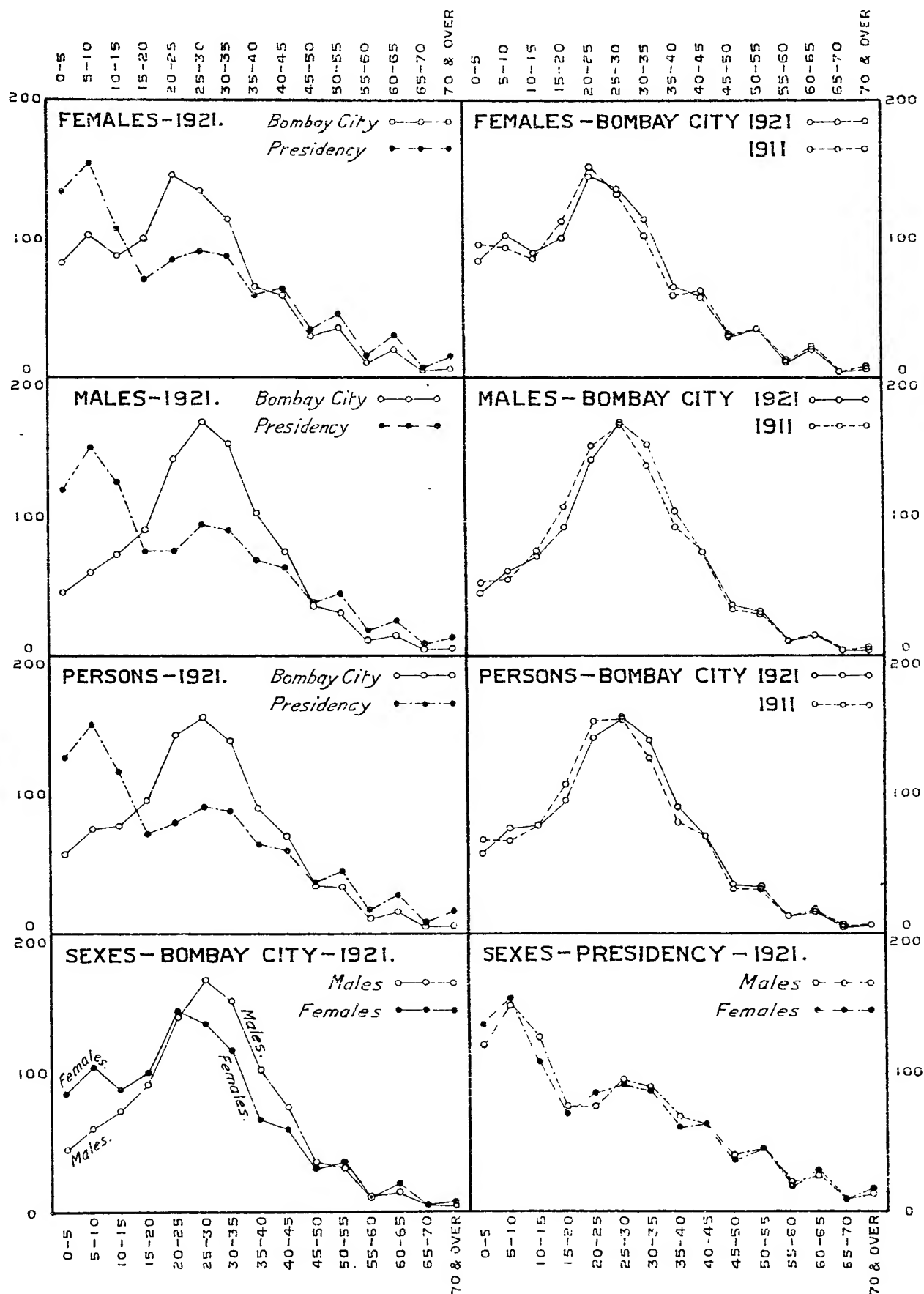
84. The extent to which the age distribution in Bombay has changed during the six Censuses is shown in the following Table :—

Age distribution of the Bombay City Population 1872 to 1921. Proportions per 1,000 persons living at each Census.

Age period.	1872.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
0-5	351	106	80	69	67	58
5-10		104	81	84	67	75
10-15		96	95	92	78	78
15-20		132	110	100	108	94
20-25	263	134	136	132	151	141
25-30		123	126	140	154	156
30-35	183	78	108	121	125	138
35-40		78	67	71	80	90
40-45	107	83	71	74	69	69
45-50			34	32	31	34
50-55	54	18	42	40	32	33
55-60		26	14	13	11	11
60-65	42	22	36	32	17	15
65-70					4	3
70 and over					6	5

85. The Table just given exhibits some peculiar features—mainly in the years 1872 and 1881. The most conspicuous is the shortage of persons in the groups 60 and over in 1881, combined at the same time with an excess in the groups from 0-20. The high values in these lower age groups would not, however, have been surprising, had the value of the same four groups in 1872 been also as high or higher. But as will be seen, it was only 351 as against 438 in the next Census. Nor is the cause to be attributed to any wide difference in the age composition of the general population, since the per mille values of these age groups in the general population of British Districts were 468 in 1872 and 463 in 1881. The values of the highest age groups (60 and over) in these two years in Bombay shows a complete inversion when compared with the general population, namely 44 and 22 against 27 and 44. We shall get the problem clearer if we combine the age groups into four major groups for all years as follows :—

Age group.	Per mille of the population.					
	1872.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
0-20	351	438	366	345	320	305
20-40	446	413	437	464	510	525
40-60	161	127	161	159	143	147
60 and over	42	22	36	32	27	23



DISTRIBUTION OF EVERY 1000 PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS
BOMBAY CITY AND WHOLE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY - 1921

86. The age groups thus stated distinctly indicate that the "Accessive" character of the Bombay population, namely an excess of persons in the wage-earning periods and a deficiency at each end was strongly marked in 1872, *became less marked in the decade 1872—1881*, and thereafter has steadily increased. The question is, therefore—is there any independent evidence to the effect that the 1881 population was of a less accessive and more normal type than the population of the previous Census. The Birth-place test fails us, since it is pointed out elsewhere that the percentage of City born has steadily diminished, and there was no break in the phenomenon. But the sex ratios furnish the necessary corroborative evidence. The number of females per 1,000 males was 612 in 1872, *rose to 663 in 1881*, and fell again to 586 in 1891. Age and sex are necessarily closely connected, and the corroboration afforded by the sex ratios obviates the necessity of calling the age figures of the earlier Census into question. A possible line of solution is to suppose that the immigrants who came into Bombay during the decade 1872—1881 brought with them their wives and families. And this is highly probable, since the great famine of 1877 may have driven many poor cultivators from their homes, and forced them into the City, just as we have already seen in the discussion of Immigration that the Nagar and Nasik immigrants at this Census have brought their families. The solution of the problem of the deficiency in the highest groups (60 and over) in 1881 is not apparent; but the problem itself is of less importance.

87. The next Table gives the age distribution for each Religion separately:—

*Distribution of 1,000 persons of each Religion by age groups,
Bombay City, 1921.*

Age group.	Total population of the City.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Jain.	Zoroastrian.	Christian.
0-5	58	58	57	50	66	58
5-10	75	76	74	58	81	65
10-15	78	76	81	94	89	76
15-20	94	94	86	138	89	102
20-25	141	145	129	169	102	154
25-30	156	163	146	154	98	144
30-35	138	142	141	124	99	120
35-40	90	89	94	83	83	93
40-45	69	66	78	57	81	70
45-50	34	32	36	29	56	45
50-55	33	30	38	24	59	36
55-60	11	9	11	7	32	14
60-65	15	13	19	8	32	14
65-70	3	3	3	2	15	4
70 and over	5	4	7	3	19	5

88. The above Table brings out clearly the longevity of the Parsees, whose age distribution would be admirable if only there was a larger number in the lowest age groups. Some idea of the longevity of this community will be gained when it is mentioned that the percentage of the Zoroastrians to the total City population is 4·4. In age groups 55 and over it is 8·8 and in age groups 65 and over it is 17. In other words about 1 in every 22 or 23 persons in Bombay is a Parsee; but of persons over 65 years of age one in every 6. Reference is invited to the fuller discussion of the age distribution of this Religion in Chapter V of the General Report.

89. But to consider the last Table satisfactorily it is necessary to compare the age distribution of each religion in Bombay with its distribution in the

whole Presidency. This is shown in the following Table by taking out the percentage of the former to the latter :—

Percentage borne by the number per mille in each age period for each religion in Bombay City to the number per mille in the same age period of the same religion for the Presidency as a whole.

Age group.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Jain.	Zoroastrian.	Christian.
0-5	45	45	45	84	54
5-10	50	49	44	88	53
10-15	64	74	77	92	72
15-20	131	123	168	100	120
20-25	186	154	201	107	133
25-30	179	152	175	109	133
30-35	163	147	149	108	129
35-40	141	152	128	106	127
40-45	106	120	88	109	117
45-50	84	106	69	104	113
50-55	68	86	49	102	97
55-60	50	79	32	97	88
60-65	46	66	26	97	70
65-70	38	50	20	94	57
70 and over	33	44	19	86	56

90. Zoroastrians being mainly centred in Bombay it naturally follows that their Bombay age distribution should vary little from the same for the whole Presidency. Of the rest the order from the least divergence to greatest is Christian, Musalman, Hindu, Jain. The approximate percentage of the strength of each religion in Bombay to the total strength in the Presidency is Zoroastrians 61, Christians 25, Jains 5, and Hindus and Musalmans 4 each. So the slighter divergence of the Christian distribution in Bombay is natural. In the case of the others it will be seen that the Musalman distribution is much more normal in Bombay than that of either of the others. This again emphasises the fact that Musalman immigrants are probably not proportionately so important as Hindu immigrants, as was demonstrated before by the declining proportionate strength of Islam as against the other religions. As between Jains and Hindus it will be seen that the abnormal excess in the case of Jains is concentrated more intensely in the two groups 15-20 and 20-25. A possible explanation is that the Jains being proportionately more educated than the Hindus the proportionate number of College students will be higher. But this is a speculation only.

SECTION 12.—SEX.

91. It is inevitable that just as the age composition of the City is abnormal so also will be the sex composition. The number of females per 1,000 males since 1872 is given in the margin. It will be seen that, while there has been a gradual widening of the divergence between the numbers of the two sexes, that widening process has twice been interrupted, once in 1881 and once in 1901. The reason for the interruption in 1881 has been suggested in the discussion on age composition. The reason for the disturbance in 1901 is believed to have been the absence of plague refugees. It is obvious that when it comes to leaving a city because of an epidemic a single man has greater facilities for so doing than either a single woman or a family. Moreover it would be the casual immigrants who would mostly go, and the casual immigrants are mainly males.

Females per 1,000 males in Bombay City, 1872 to 1921—

1872	... 612
1881	... 664
1891	... 586
1901	... 617
1911	... 530
1921	... 525

92. Studied by Sections the composition at the last two Censuses has been as follows :—

Percentage of females to males in Sections of Bombay City, 1911 and 1921.

Section.	1911.	1921.	Section.	1911.	1921.
Upper Colaba*	79	33	Girgaum	61	61
Lower Colaba	46	46	Chaupati	61	61
Fort, South	23	19	Walkeshwar	55	58
Fort, North	63	58	Mahalaxmi	58	57
Esplanade	42	34	Tardeo	61	63
Chakla	54	59	Kamatipura	63	63
Mandvi	42	50	1st Nagpada	53	49
Umarkhadi	60	59	2nd Nagpada	63	58
Dongri	60	65	Byculla	58	56
Market	37	30	Tadwadi	57	52
Dhobi Talao	57	51	Mazagaon	55	59
Fanaswadi	51	53	Parel	58	58
Bhuleshwar	48	46	Sewri	61	67
Kumbharwada	55	50	Sion	66	64
Khara Talao	53	49	Mahim	67	64
Khetwadi	61	62	Warli	53	53

* In 1911 excluding, and in 1921 including Military.

93. It follows from what has been said already that the shortage of females is likely to be most marked in the middle or wage earning periods; and this is borne out by the following figures for the last two Censuses :—

Percentage of females to males at each age period in Bombay City, 1911 and 1921.

Age period.	1911.	1921.	Age period.	1911.	1921.
0-5	99	98	35-40	35	34
5-10	92	90	40-45	45	42
10-15	58	64	45-50	51	44
15-20	55	58	50-55	63	60
20-25	53	53	55-60	64	56
25-30	42	42	60 and over	84	81
30-35	39	39			

SECTION 13.—CIVIL CONDITION.

94. The civil condition of the population shews little change over last time, whether viewed as a whole or by religions. The following are the proportions :—

Number per cent. who were Unmarried, Married, and Widowed, Bombay City, 1911 and 1921.

	1911.			1921.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
Whole Population	35	57	8*	35	58	7
Hindus	31	61	8	32	61	7
Mahomedans	37	55	8	37	57	6
Christians	52	41	7	51	44	5
Jains	37	58	5	37	58	5
Zoroastrians	54	37	9	51	41	8

* Misprinted as 9 on p. 21 of the Report on Bombay Town and Island, 1911.

95. The decrease in widows

Distribution by Civil Condition of every 1,000 persons, Bombay Presidency, 1911 and 1921—

	1911.	1921.
Unmarried ...	394	414
Married ...	492	464
Widowed ...	114	122

as a whole is not in accordance with the general changes in the Presidency as a whole, the figures for which at the two Censuses are given in the margin for comparison. But the cause of the decrease in the proportion of widows in Bombay City, is suggested below.

96. The noticeable change in the Zoroastrian distribution is in accordance with the changes in the Presidency, but more accentuated. In 1911 the Bombay Zoroastrian distribution was identical with the Presidency distribution. But this time while the Presidency distribution changes to 52, 39, 9, the City Zoroastrian distribution changes to 51, 41, 8. The differences however appear greater when expressed as percentages than as per mille rates.

97. The long term changes in the distribution of the total population of the City are as follows :—

Unmarried, Married and Widowed per 1,000 of the population, Bombay City, 1881 to 1921.

	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
Unmarried ...	336	349	354	345	345
Married ...	575	565	548	573	584
Widowed ...	89	86	98	82	71

The changes since 1901 seem to have moved in accordance with the proportions of the population in the age groups 0—15, who may be taken as mainly unmarried, 15—50 who may be taken as mainly married, and 50 and over who may be taken as mainly widowed. The following are the figures :—

Proportion per 1,000 of the population in certain age groups, 1901 to 1921.

Age group.	1901.	1911.	1921.
0-15 ...	245	212	211
15-50 ...	628	718	722
50 and over ...	85	70	67

The comparison is exact, and seems to offer the true explanation of such changes in the distribution by Civil Condition as have taken place since 1901.

SECTION 14.—LITERACY.

98. The percentage of literates to total population rose in 1919 from 19 to 23, and in 1921 from 23 to 24. The proportion of literates in English remains as under 80 per 1,000.

99. The literacy figures by religions for the last three Censuses are :—

Religion.	Literate per 100.			Literate in English per 100.		
	1901.	1911.	1921.	1901.	1911.	1921.
Hindu ...	11	17	18.5	3	5	5.8
Musalman ...	13	16	18.3	2	3	3.2
Christian ...	52	50	53.3	46	40	44.2
Jain ...	52	57	60.1	2	6	8.1
Zoroastrian ...	67	74	77.0	31	39	44.4

100. In the matter of general literacy the slower rise of Hindus as compared with Musalmans again brings us back to the question of immigration. It has already been pointed out that the bulk of the immigrants are Hindus and these will contain excessive proportions of illiterate, thus keeping down the Hindu figure.

101. The increase in the proportion of literate Zoroastrians is no doubt partly due to the decline in the proportions in the lowest age groups, and must therefore be discounted in considering the advance of that community. The comparative age distribution of Zoroastrians at each Census has been given in Chapter V of the General Report. A decline in the proportion of young children involves an inevitable rise in the proportion of Literates.

102. The same remark does not however apply to the Jains.

SECTION 15.—LANGUAGE.

103. Language is closely bound up with birth-place. The language returns were not specially tabulated by Sections or even Wards. Consequently no statistics of language will be found in the Tables in this Volume. This being so, the following actual figures of languages returned are reproduced for ready reference from Imperial Table X. They are arranged in series according to their numerical importance in the City:—

Languages in Bombay City, 1921.

Language.	No. of Speakers.	Language.	No. of Speakers.
Marathi	604,449	Arabic	3,387
Gujarati	236,047	Punjabi	2,993
Hindi	173,641	Persian	2,796
Kacchi	39,521	Sindhi	1,765
Konkani	32,598	Pashtu	1,668
English	24,717	Bengali	1,651
Telegu	19,392	Malayam	961
Rajasthani	11,681	Tulu	661
Kanarese	5,300	Lahnda	106
Tamil	4,890	Baluchi	86
Other Indian Languages		...	391
Other Asiatic do.		...	2,117
Other European do.		...	4,879
Miscellaneous do.		...	167

104. The percentages of the main languages to the total population of the City at the last two Censuses has been as follows:—

Language.	Percentage.	
	1911.*	1921
Marathi	50·9	51·4
Gujarati	20·9	20·1
Hindi	14·8	14·8
Kacchi	4·2	3·4
Konkani	2·0	2·8

This indicates scarcely any appreciable change. It is difficult to get back to the early language distribution, because of the uncertainty of the dialect names included in each language. But in 1881, when Marathi excluded Konkani as now, the percentages were Marathi 50·1, Konkani 4·4. It will be noticed that the combined percentages of these two languages in 1881, 1911 and 1921 thus come out at 54·5, 53·7, and 54·0 which are singularly constant.

105. Hindi in the above Table includes Hindi, Hindustani, Musalmani and Urdu. The number returning this language is 173,641; and the number of Musalmans is 184,685. But many Musalmans in Bombay are Gujarati and

* The language percentages for 1911 are calculated after adjusting for revised classification, as explained in Chapter IX of the General Report.

some Marathi speakers. So the Hindi returns include (i) the balance of local Mahomedans after excluding those who speak Gujarati or Marathi, (ii) most Musalmans and many Hindus from the North. Of the 70 thousand immigrants from the United Provinces it is clear that most must be speakers of Hindi, and many of them will be by religion Hindus. Consequently it is evident that the proportion of Bombay Musalmans who return Gujarati, Marathi or other Hinduistic dialect as their language is considerable.

106. The English speakers rise from 19,458 to 24,717, and those of other European languages fall from 5,568 to 4,879. The figure of other European languages are always kept up by the returns of Portuguese. Many high class Goanese will return Portuguese as their home speech, although they actually use Konkani in their homes and reserve Portuguese for official documents. But of course Portuguese in its local form is spoken to some extent in Goa.

107. The Asiatic languages other than Persian and Arabic were not separately tabulated. The 2,117 persons under this head will, however, include languages of Ceylon, China, Japan, the Malay States and Siam, and Nepal.

SECTION 16.—CASTE.

108. The principal Hindu, Jain and Musalman castes are shown in the annexed Table with their changes since 1911 :—

Strength of some of the principal Castes in Bombay, 1911 and 1921.

Caste.	Numbers.	
	1911.	1921.
HINDU—		
Bhandari	23,846	30,058
Bhangi or Halalkhor	5,645	6,015
Bhatia	7,780	9,015
Brahman (all castes)	53,656	72,400
Chambhar or Mochi	21,305	27,589
Darji, Shimpi, Sai and Mirai	8,190	9,742
Dhobi, Parit, &c.	5,720	6,622
Gavli	5,962	5,065
Hajam, Nhavi, &c.	4,526	6,650
Kayasth Prabhu	5,090	5,964
Kharva and Kharvi	5,586	7,146
Kumbhar	3,798	4,405
Lohana	14,364	13,734
Lohar or Kammar	4,935	5,709
Mahar, Dhed, and Holiya	57,855	92,481
Mah	6,480	7,742
Mang or Madig	4,247	9,549
Maratha	231,924	264,338
Kunbi	14,458	26,418
Patane Prabhu	2,359	3,515
Sonar, Soni, &c.	12,259	13,131
Sutar or Badig	6,950	8,451
Teli or Ghanchi	4,782	4,655
Thakur	2,822	3,390
Vani (all castes)	36,264	58,824
JAIN—		
Vani (all castes)	19,549	12,412
MUSALMAN—		
Arab	1,191	1,799
Bohra	13,272	16,886
Khôja	12,243	11,172
Memon	15,381	12,387
Pathan	11,106	10,371
Sayyad	8,135	8,114
Shêikh	73,949	77,398

109. These figures exhibit changes which are reasonable. The only cases in which castes selected for separate presentation exhibited incongruous changes

are the figures for Komti or Vaishya and those of the weaving castes. For the uncertainty of these terms reference is invited to the Caste Chapter of the General Report, and to Appendix C, "Claims to new Caste Nomenclature."

110. Komti or Vaishya falls from 6,578 to 394. The most likely cause is change of nomenclature. In 1911 it must have been fashionable with a certain community to call itself by these names, but since then some other name has come into use, and the caste has drifted somewhere else in our Tables.

111. Koshti, Hatkar, Jed or Vinkar of 1911, which had a figure 543, reappears as Koshti, Hatkar, Jed, Vinkar and Devang with no less than 33,822. The rise cannot be attributed wholly to the addition of "Devang" since most Devangs are Lingayats, and would go into the Lingayat Caste figure. The matter is again one of nomenclature pure and simple. There must have been more than 542 of these weavers in 1911, but they must have returned some other name. Musalman Khatri decrease from 2,353 to 203. Khatri was this time included with Pategar and Patvekari. Last time the group Chatrī, Khatri, &c., which included some small castes by mistake, numbered 10,406. The revised group Pategar and Khatri abstracted at the Bombay Office numbers 7,596. This includes a few (exact number uncertain) from the Suburban District. Sali last time numbered 1,353. This time the number abstracted is 5,818, including the Bombay Suburban.

112. The incongruity of the weaver figures shows that the correct enumeration of those communities is almost hopeless. Their loosely knit communal structure has little of the rigidity of the regular Hindu Castes and no fixity of nomenclature, which varies both with time and locality.

113. The most important increases are those of Brahmans, Mahars and Mangs. In these cases the castes are so rigid and the nomenclature so certain that we can confidently say that the increase is genuine.

114. Marathas and Kunbis must be combined. This matter is fully discussed in the General Report. And it has also been pointed out elsewhere in this Volume that a Kunbi of the Deccan will annex the title Maratha on arrival in the metropolis.

115. The European community has already been so fully discussed in earlier sections that it cannot be further mentioned here. But the curious will find figures of English, Scotch and other nationalities of the Empire, as well as of the European countries in Imperial Table XIII. At the expense of the Scotch and Irish the English figure is far too high. This is due to the large number of cases in which "British" is returned. The Nationality figures are capable of comparison with the Birth-place figures. But the subject is hardly of sufficient importance.

SECTION 17.—INFIRMITIES.

116. The Infirmary returns in Bombay City exhibit a considerable change as compared with 1911.

The actual numbers of each infirmity are placed side by side:—

Infirmities in Bombay, 1911 and 1921.

Infirmity.	Numbers.					
	1911.			1921.		
	M	F	Total.	M	F	Total.
Insane	152	73	225	52	27	79
Deaf-Mute	130	30	180	37	10	47
Blind	324	129	453	484	212	696
Leper	352	154	506	506	217	723

The contrasts are very remarkable. Insanes and Deaf-Mutes decrease to one-third or less of what they were last time, while Blind and Lepers increase considerably.

117. As regards the former the reason is that the Colaba Lunatic Asylum, which was in existence in 1911, was closed in 1913-14, and the inmates transferred to Yerrowda. This would affect the figures both of Insanes and Deaf-Mutes. It is also the opinion of medical men that our Deaf-Mute figures in 1911 were everywhere too high.

118. Apart from these changes, the figures as they now stand, are very interesting when compared with those for the Presidency as a whole. The following table shows the number per ten thousand suffering from the different infirmities :—

Number per ten thousand suffering from each of the four Census infirmities, in (i) Bombay City and (ii) the Presidency as a whole, 1921.

Infirmity.		Number per ten thousand.	
		Bombay City.	Presidency.
Insanity	...	0·7	4·1
Deaf-Mutes	...	0·4	5·5
Blindness	...	5·9	18·6
Leprosy	...	6·1	3·6

It will be seen that there are some remarkable contrasts. Insanity and Deaf-Mutism are almost absent from Bombay. Blindness occurs to a fair extent, though the proportion per 10,000 is lower than in the Mofussil. Lepers are exceptionally numerous.

119. Reflection will show that these figures are much as would have been expected. There is a Leper Asylum in Bombay with accommodation for about 400 inmates. The exclusion of the actual inmates at the time of the Census from the total Leper figure would reduce the per 10,000 rate to about the same as in the Presidency generally. There is a small institution for Deaf-Mutes, but it is not known what accommodation it has. It does not appear to exert any marked influence on the Deaf-Mute figures. Generally speaking Insanes and Deaf-Mutes would find city conditions unfavourable; but to the blind or their guardians there are possibilities. It takes time to demonstrate that a person is mad, or deaf or dumb, whereas the blind can be at once exhibited to the occupants of a slowly-moving tramcar.

120. In passing a warning is desirable against the hasty condemnation of our Census Infirmity figures as useless. It is recognised in all countries that Infirmities is one and the more difficult Census Heads. But whatever our figures represent they show rational changes from Census to Census. The figures for the Presidency as a whole do not show the wide variations between 1911 and 1921 that the Bombay figures show; and the reasons for the Bombay variations given above would appear to be justified. Analysis of the infirmities by age periods shows that whatever we get as our figures they represent the same ideas in the mind of the Enumerators from Census to Census. For the demonstration of this point reference is invited to Chapter X of the General Report.

SECTION 18.—OCCUPATION AND INDUSTRIES.

121. Under this head we have a dual record, namely (1) the occupation entries in the General Schedules, which include the whole population, and (2) the entries of employees in the Industrial Schedules, which include only

certain Industrial Establishments. The former were filled up by the ordinary Census Enumerators and the latter by the Managers of the establishments concerned.

122. In all countries Occupation is admittedly by far the most difficult Census head. And in India it is especially difficult, largely because of the superposition of the English language and a Western Classification system upon Oriental conditions of life. There are many recognised names of occupations in the vernaculars which are not easily translated into English. For example—"modi", "tedagar", "guru", "joshi", "bhat". And conversely there are many English terms in the Occupational Tables which have no recognised equivalent in the vernacular, *e.g.*, "aerated and mineral waters", "papier mache", "gaiters", "shampocers", "upholsterers" and very many more.

123. Even if it comes to English alone and clerks (we had none) of English nationality, how many educated Englishmen could off hand describe and define the following occupations—"Sponging of textiles", rolling of iron", "catechists"?

124. Misspellings and false descriptions occur in the schedules. And many persons will return as their occupation a specialist portion of some main trade or industry. In England in 1911 the occupational return "hell-building" caused some trouble; but being returned in Northampton it was identified as "heel-building", a minute portion of the industry of bootmaking. In the same way in the Bombay Office a slip picked up at random contained the entry "chorgman"*. Examination of other adjacent slips revealed that the word was "chargeman", and it turned out to be a description of a specialist job in the cotton mills.

125. Anyone who reads right through a portion only of the Group titles in the Occupation Table will realise at once how excessively difficult the whole process of assigning an occupation to its right group must be,—from the actual description of his occupation by the individual, through its entry in the schedule by the Enumerator, its copying on to the slip by the copyist, and its entry on the sorters' ticket by the sorter, down to its final classification by the Compiler.

126. It is therefore not surprising that a fair number of groups do not show rational changes from the 1911 figures to the 1921 figures. In these cases the main cause is different views of classification taken by the classification staff in the two offices, since the descriptions by individuals and their entry by the Enumerators would not be likely to vary so much from Census to Census when dealing with large numbers.

127. A good example of the way in large figures usually correct themselves where wrong, and show continuity, is afforded by the main primary classification of all individuals into Workers (male and female) and Dependents. These for Bombay City in 1911 and 1921 are—

	Actual Numbers.		Percentages.	
	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.
Actual Workers—				
Males ...	514,665	611,297	53	52
Females ...	81,445	105,672	8	9
Dependents ...	383,325	458,945	39	39

The corresponding percentages for 1901 were 48, 9, 43. The smaller proportion of dependents at the last two Censuses agrees with the age

* The most common (almost universal) peculiarity of the Indian's style of English handwriting is the failure to differentiate 'a' from 'o'.

distribution already given. In the long run the proportion of young children and aged persons in the total population will be the determinant for the proportion of dependents.

128. When we come to the columns for "partly agriculturists," however, we find a deplorable condition of things. The General Schedule contained a column for occupation and a column for subsidiary occupation. On the basis of the entries in the last-mentioned column we give in the case of all occupations other than the agricultural groups the number of those who, in addition to their principal occupation which is not agricultural, have agriculture as a second occupation. Of course in Bombay the number of such persons is necessarily high since many *kunbis* leave their fields and come to Bombay for the season, returning home in the rains. Moreover "partly agriculturists" includes those who are simply landlords of agricultural land, and the number of such in Bombay must be considerable. Yet the figures of "partly agriculturists" in Bombay during the last three Censuses have been—

1901	... Males	19,115,	Females	3,170.
1911	... ..	1,538,	..	3.
1921	... ..	213,	..	...

The reason for this deterioration is simply that the subsidiary occupation column of the General Schedule is one *which cannot be checked*. When the Enumerator shows his book to his Supervisor it has to contain complete entries in the columns for main occupation (Col. 9 for workers or Col. 11 for dependents), because every individual either has an occupation or is supported by someone who has. One or other of these columns must have an entry in every case, *and any blank would be detected*. But no Supervisor can prove that any individual had a subsidiary occupation, and laziness in filling up that column may therefore safely be adopted.

129. At this Census it was very nearly decided to abandon the Subsidiary Occupation Column; but at the last moment it was retained. It is certain to be abandoned next time, and the above figures afford a good argument in favour of the change.*

130. In contradistinction to the ordinary Occupation Columns in the General Census Schedule the Special Industrial Schedules ought to be quite correct, because they are simply submitted to the Managers of establishments, and returned filled up by them. This method is only possible when dealing with organized establishments and is not applicable to the General Census.

131. Readers are particularly warned against the pitfall of comparing the Industrial Tables of this Census with those of 1911,—the first Census at which an Industrial Census was attempted. The figures are *not comparable*, because in 1911 the limit for inclusion was Establishments employing 20 payed workers and this time 10. The word "payed" is to be noticed. An establishment consisting of four or five working partners and employing six or seven workmen would not come within the scope of the Industrial Census. This is important (rather in the Mofussil than in Bombay), as excluding a fair number of cases of combines of relatives, especially in the hand-weaving industry.

132. Readers are also warned when consulting the Industrial Tables to be careful about the scope of each Table. Some are for all Establishments and others only for Establishment using mechanical power.

133. Lastly they are warned that in the General Occupational Tables the first figure is always the total of workers and dependents combined, whereas the

* It is particularly undesirable that anyone reading the above remarks should form the opinion that because one detail of the Schedule Census was obviously neglected therefore the whole Census is worthless. Such is far from being the case. The special reason for the failure of this one head has been explained. The rest of the columns of the Schedule were filled up. The figures given in the Tables are genuine. Where they show rational changes from Census to Census they may be taken as being correct, or subject to none but ordinary Census errors, inherent in the nature of the Census in this as in all countries. Where they do not show rational changes *attention is drawn to the fact*. Just as there has been no faking of figures, so there is no concealment of errors.

Industrial Tables are concerned with workers only, and have nothing to do with dependents.

134. We will now consider the more important occupations in detail. For the most part figures will only be cited for actual workers. The number of dependents is given in the Tables for every group. But the proportion of dependents in any one group is not likely to be constant, nor will the changes in these proportions be of any practical interest. Dependents can only be considered for massed occupations, and the total for the city, as given above, is a sufficient index of the position of the Bombay population in this matter. In a few cases of the larger Sub-Classes* dependents figures are cited, but without discussion. The figures of workers are checked by comparison with the Industrial Tables, wherever this is possible and necessary.

Order 1.—Pasture and Agriculture.

Workers—1911 ...Males 9,470, Females 655.

1921 ... ,, 5,197, ,, 1,484.

The general fall in workers is natural, having regard to the fact that there is still cultivation in the north of the island, and that the cultivable area is steadily diminishing. The cause of the excess of female workers at this Census is unknown.

In detail the only group that calls for remark is *Group 11, Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers*—

Workers—1911 ...Males 2,674, Females 180.

1921 ... ,, 112, ,, 3.

There must be more than 115 cattle owners in Bombay Island, and the almost complete disappearance of this group must be due to some fault in classification. *Pari passu* with the reduction in the number of owners the number of herdmen, &c., falls from 170 to 7. The most probable explanation lies in *Group 133, Sellers of milk, butter and ghee*, in which the workers rise from 3,261 to 5,099. Taking both Groups into account we get—

Group 11—1911 ...Males 2,674, Females 180.

Group 133— ,, ... ,, 2,412, ,, 819.

5,086 999.

Group 11—1921 ...Males 112, Females 3.

Group 133— ,, ... ,, 4,766, ,, 333.

4,878 336.

Rearranged thus the slight reduction in the figure is reasonable, having regard to the reduced space available for grazing, and the increased importance of the rail-imported milk trade.

Order 2.—Fishing and Hunting.

Group 17—Fishing.

Workers—1911 ...Males 2,485, Females 949.

1921 ... ,, 1,450, ,, 303.

Here also the reduction can be explained by combining with this group *Group 131 "Fish Dealers"*. We then get—

Group 17—1911 ...Males 2,485, Females, 949.

Group 131— ,, ... ,, 34, ,, 130.

2,519 1,079.

* Occupations are classified under (1) Class, (2) Sub-Class, (3) Order, and (4) Group. The Group is the final unit. The Group numbers are somewhat altered at this Census; but where the 1911 Group figures are cited they are cited under the current Group No.

Group 17—1921	...Males 1,450, Females 303.
Group 131— „	... „ 1,290, „ 1,081.
	<hr/>
	2,740, 1,384

Reference is however invited to the discussion under *Group 110* below.

Sub-Class III.—Industry.

Industry means all processes of manufacture, as opposed to Sub-Class V Trade, which means all wholesale and retail trading in any article. But in India, where the manufacturer and seller are as often as not the same person, there is always much difficulty in getting the figures into their right places. The rule is that in cases of the dual occupation the Sub-Class III Industry has preference. But this rule is not always observed.

The figures of this Sub-Class as a whole were—

Workers—1911	...Males 169,729, Females 36,728, Dependents 116,620.
„ ...1921	... „ 188,679, „ 42,348, „ 126,194.

The Industrial Statistics, which cover practically the same occupations, but are confined to Establishment employing 10 payed workers, show—

Employees, Males 168,701, Females 38,511. Having regard to the fact—firstly, that there must be very large numbers of persons falling within this Sub-Class, who are not employees in Establishments (as defined), and secondly that the Occupation Table includes under “workers” the owners (employers) of industrial concerns, whereas the Industrial Tables exclude them, it is at once clear that the figures in the General Occupation Table must be much too low. The reason for this is to be found in *Sub-Class XI “Insufficiently Described Occupations.”*

Group 187—“Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified,” which shows—

Workers, Males 128,123, Females, 27,749. This is unfortunate, but it is difficult to avoid. The Bombay mill-hand *may*, when asked his occupation, return “mill-labourer.” On the other hand, just as he may return some specialised trade term such as “doffer”, or “finisher”, which, though a nuisance in the Abstraction Office, is yet identifiable, so he may go to the other extreme and return “*mazuri*” pure and simple. The difficulty is one which renders our main Occupation Table in mill centres (though not necessarily elsewhere) much less valuable than it is expected to be; but reflection will show that it is a difficulty which is virtually insuperable, so long as we have to rely on Enumerators who are either enforced Honorary workers from Government and Municipal Offices, or, if paid, are of poor education and often of poor character.

To take the more important Orders within the Sub-Class—

Order 6.—Textiles.

Workers—1911	...Males 92,985, Females 27,514.
„ —1921	... „ 102,516, „ 31,472.

The figures under “*Textiles and connected industries*” in the Industrial Tables, which cover the same ground, show—

Employees—1921	...Males 124,983, Females 36,741.
----------------	-----------------------------------

Here, as already explained, the missing workers are to be found in *Group 187, Labourers and Workmen otherwise Unspecified.*

The Textile employees are (from the Industrial Tables) separable into—

Managerial Staff	(sexes combined)	... 149
Supervising and technical Staff	(do.)	... 704
Clerical Staff	(do.)	... 3,131
Skilled Workmen, Males		... 62,879
„ Females		... 13,969
Unskilled Workmen, Males		... 58,071
„ Females		... 22,771

Of the unskilled workmen, according to the Table, only 1,177 males and 606 females are under 14 years of age. But of the figures it is justifiable to be suspicious, since the various factory laws and regulations are likely to induce a tendency to overstate age in the case of children.

Estimated as percentages of the total population of the each sex the employees in textile establishments represent 16·2 per cent. of the males and 9·5 per cent. of the females in the Island. This is including all employees up to the Managers. If we add the owners, and those persons (number unknown) who depend mainly or wholly for their livelihood on the dividends from mill shares the premier importance of this Industry in Bombay is at once apparent.

Practically the whole of the textile establishments come under the head of "*employing mechanical power*" and the difference, therefore, between the number of employees in Part II and Parts IV and V of the Industrial Tables is negligible. This being so it follows that the 1911 figures from Industrial Tables of that year are comparable with the current figures. The comparative figures are—

Textile employees—1911	...	Males 86,858,	Females 22,073.
"	"	—1921	... „ 124,983, „ 36,741.

The bulk of the figures of course comes from the three items—*Spinning Mills, Weaving Mills, and Spinning and Weaving Mills*. It is not desirable to compare these individually for the two Censuses, because of the uncertainty of the descriptions. But the total number of establishments in the whole head Textiles and in these three types were—

Textile Establishments.

Total—1911	...135.
1921	...154.

Spinning, Weaving, and Spinning and Weaving Mills.

1911	... 85.
1921	...101.

The figures given above for employees in 1911 represent only 13·6 per cent. of the males in that year and 6·5 per cent. of the females, which as will be seen, are much lower ratios than at this Census. The importance of the industry is therefore apparently much increasing.

Order 7.—*Hides, Skins, &c.*

Workers—1911	...Males 1,329,	Females 227.
1911	... „ 2,875,	„ 187.

The sharp rise is in the *Group 40, "Makers of leather articles, such as trunks, waterbags, saddlery, harness, &c.,* which shows—

Workers—1911	...Males ... ,	Females 1.
1921	... „ 1,602,	„ 166.

The 1911 figures are clearly wrong. The leather workers must have got into some other group, but it is not known which.

Order 8.—*Wood.*

Workers—1911	...Males 12,495,	Females 573.
1921	... „ 20,395,	„ 989.

There should be a rise, but the actual rise seems rather high, and indicates either that persons were wrongly excluded from this Order in 1911 or have wrongly been allocated here this time.

Order 9.—*Metals.*

Workers—1911	...Males 7,381,	Females 186.
1921	... „ 10,530,	„ 277.

At both Censuses the figures under this Order in the General Occupation Table failed to secure harmony with those under *Metal Industries* in the Industrial Tables. The Industrial figures were—

Employees in Metal industrial establishments

(Establishment with 20 paid workers and over) 1911—Males 8,751, Females 255.

(Establishment with 10 paid workers and over) 1921—Males 19,004, Females 182.

It is unfortunate that the figures from the two different classes of Tables should be so badly out of alignment. But the schemes of classification are singularly different.

General Occupation Table.

Sub-Class III.—Industry.

Order 9.—Metals.

Group 46.—Forging and rolling of iron and other metals.

Group 47.—Makers of arms, guns, &c.

Group 48.—Other workers in iron, and makers of implements and tools, principally or exclusively of iron.

Group 49.—Workers in brass, copper and bell metal.

Group 50.—Workers in other metals (tin, zinc, lead, quicksilver, &c., but not precious metals).

Group 51.—Workers in Mints, die-sinkers, &c.

Industrial Tables.

VII.—Metal Industries.

(Bombay City only.)

His Majesty's Mint.

Mechanical and Engineering Workshops.

Brass Foundries.

Metal Workshops.

Aluminium Factories.

Brass and Copper Works.

Gold and Silver Factories.

Iron Works or Factories.

Lead Factories.

Tin Factories.

Safe Manufacturing Companies.

The inclusion in the second scheme of *Gold and Silver Factories* makes a difference of only 190 males. But even though otherwise the classifications cover the same ground it is essential in such a difficult matter as recording occupations to see that, should there be two different bases of record, they should contain approximately the same detailed items.

Another matter which makes the comparison of the Occupation and Industrial Tables so difficult in this matter of Metal workers is that so many Industries contain a metal section. Thus the Railway workshops, Motor repairing works, Tramway workshops and many others. Not that this can be offered as an excuse for the deficiency in the General Occupational figures. Quite the reverse will be found to be the case. The only explanation is that the missing workers are included in *Sub-Class XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.*

The main increase so far as the General Occupational Table is concerned, is in *Group 46, "Forging and rolling of iron and other metals"*, the figures for which are—

1911	...Males	10,	Females	...
1921	... „	2,583,	„	43.

It is not known where the 1911 persons got to, who have this time got into this group. The workers in this Group will probably be mainly in the Railway Workshops and in 1911 they may therefore have gone, as they should, into *Order 22, Transport by Rail.* But this is only a conjecture.

Order 11.—Chemical Products.

Group 59—"Manufacture of aerated and mineral waters and ice."

Workers—1911 ...Males 33, Females 1.

„ 1921 ... „ 80, „ 4.

In 1911 the words "*and ice*" were not added to this group. The figures at both Censuses were unduly low. Probably this is a subsidiary occupation followed by persons, whose main occupation is manufacture of some other commodity, or who are dealers in food-stuffs. But the Industrial Tables show employees in Aerated Water Manufacturies as follows:—Males 2,050, Females 140. And this may be taken as the correct figure. Manufacturers of Ice come, in the Industrial Tables, into a different class.

Order 12.—Food Industries.

Workers—1911 ...Males 7,101, Females 2,836.

„ 1921 ... „ 3,871, „ 3,291.

The high proportion of women workers in this Order is due entirely to *Group 75*, "*Manufacture of tobacco, opium and ganja*", in which there are 1,081 males, and 3,062 females. In *Group 65*, "*Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders*" there are more women than men, but the figures are very small. (M. 117, F. 143.)

Almost all the groups show falls.

Group 68—“Butchers”, declines —

Workers—1911 ...Males 1,195, Females 77.

„ 1921 ... „ 657, „ 11.

This is possibly due to the Slaughter House at Bandra, which is outside the Island.

Group 74—“Toddy Drawers”, also shows declining figures, as is natural having regard to the extension of buildings in the north of the Island. This is an occupation which must have been a very important one in the early days of Bombay.

Group 72—“Sweetmeat makers, preparers of jam, condiments, &c.”

Workers—1911 ...Males 1,948, Females 158.

„ 1921 .. „ 294, „ 4.

These have evidently gone into *Sub-Class V, Trade*. Combining with this *Group Group 134, “Sellers of sweetmeats, sugar, gur and molasses”* we get—

Group 72—1911, ...Males 1,948, Females 158.

„ 134— „ ... „	308,	„	16.
	<hr/> 2,256,		<hr/> 174.

Group 72—1921, ...Males 294, Females 4.

„ 134— „ ... „	1,610,	„	110.
	<hr/> 1,904,		<hr/> 114.

Order 13.—Industries of the Dress and Toilet.

Workers—1911 ...Males 22,744, Females 2,454.

„ 1921 ... „ 24,440, „ 2,363.

Neither the Order, nor any of the Groups call for comment. This Industry is evidently almost entirely in the hands of the small home worker. The Industrial Tables show only 1,350 males and 34 female employees. This is of course as would be expected. Large tailoring or dressmaking establishments have not yet arrived as part even of Bombay's Industrial life.

Order 16.—Construction of the Means of Transport.

Workers—Males 341, Females 13.

The figures are hopelessly at variance with those of the Industrial Tables, which give—

XIV. Construction of the Means of Transport and Communication.

Employees,—Males 5,945, Females 27.

There is really little excuse for the discrepancy. We have this time a new Occupational Group 90, "*Persons engaged in making, assembling or repairing motor vehicles or cycles, with—*

Workers—Males 290, Females 12.

And in the other we have "*motor car works*" with—

Employees—Males 2,189, Females 3.

Again the Industrial figures must be taken as the correct ones.

*Order 17.—Production and Transmission of Physical Forces
(Heat, Light, Electricity, Motive Powers)—*

with one group only, namely Group 93, "*Gas workers and electric light and power*".

Workers—Males 980, Females 21

is analogous to but not coterminous with the Industrial Class XV. *Production and Transmission of Physical Forces, with—*

Employees—Males 1,306, Females 5.

This Industrial Class includes "*Ice Factories*", which, as we have already seen, are amalgamated in the Occupation Tables with Aerated waters under *Chemical Products (properly so called)*, another example of divergent classification. The Ice workers in the Industrial Tables are 190 Males only.

Order 18.—Other Miscellaneous and Undefined Industries.

This is not exactly comparable with any one order last time. It embraces two of the 1911 Orders, namely "*Industries of Luxury, and those pertaining to the Arts and Sciences*", and "*Industries connected with Refuse matters*". (The amalgamation of these has unavoidably produced a cynical effect which it is hardly possible to omit to notice, but which is evidently accidental). But the Group of 1911 entitled "*Newspaper and Magazine Managers, Editors, Journalists, &c.*" have been removed to Sub-Class VIII.—*Professions and the Liberal Arts*, since they do not exactly come within the meaning of Industry as intended for Sub-Class III.

Group 94—"Printers, lithographers, engravers, &c."

Workers—1911 ...Males 4,815, Females 33.

„ 1921 ... „ 2,767, „ 108.

The reduction here is certainly wrong, and is not easily explicable by reference to any other group. The Industrial Tables give the correct figures namely, *Printing Presses*—

Employees—Males 5,858, Females 7.

Group 98—"Workers in precious stones and metals, &c. &c."

Workers—1911 ...Males 5,185, Females 129.

„ 1921 ... „ 4,389, „ 72.

This is possibly correct. It is not explicable by combination with the group for trade in these articles, where also the figures have fallen.

Groups 102—"Contractors for the disposal of refuse, &c." and
103 "Sweepers, scavengers, &c."

Workers—1911	...Males	4,625,	Females	2,247.
„ —1921	... „	4,060,	„	2,167.

All but a very few are sweepers, Group 102 containing only 151 workers. The two were not separated in 1911. The reduction is probably not correct. The heavy rise in Group 163 (*see below*) suggests that some of the large staff of Municipal Sweepers have got into that Group at this Census.

Sub-Class IV.—Transport.

There is here a reduction. The figures are—

Workers—1911	...Males	74,500,	Females	4,670,	Dependents	43,660.
„ —1921	... „	64,686,	„	2,673,	„	40,093.

A new Order 19, *Transport by Air*, appears, but with only 11 workers.

Order 20.—Transport by Water.

Workers—1911	...Males,	36,298,	Females	2,932.
„ —1921	... „	30,006,	„	1,042.

There is reduction in all groups.

Group 105 is for "*Persons (other than labourers) employed in harbour works and dockyards, including pilots*". And Group 106 is for "*Labourers*" in these occupations. These two were not separated at the last Census. The combined figures are—

Workers—1911	...Males	13,794,	Females	2,793.
„ —1921	... „	10,729,	„	986.

The reduction may be due to the fact that in 1911 large dock-works including the construction of the Alexandra Dock were in progress.

Group 107—"Shipowners and their employees, ship brokers, ship's officers, engineers and mariners and firemen".

Workers—1911	...Males	18,848,	Females	133.
„ —1921	... „	17,753,	„	41.

This is a rather unsatisfactory Group, being a very heterogeneous collection, from the merchant prince who owns a fleet to the stoker in a tramp steamer. The figures would necessarily vary according to shipping in the harbour.

Group 110.—"Boat owners, boatmen and towmen".

Workers—1911	...Males	3,685,	Females	6.
„ —1921	... „	1,279,	„	3.

There is here a large reduction,—nearly two-thirds. In 1901 the head "*Boatmen and bargemen*" contained no less than 17,618 workers, all males. It is certain that the Group is liable to misinterpretation. It is not easy for the sorter in the Abstraction Office to distinguish between "*mariners*" and "*boatmen*", especially if he is scarcely educated in English, as is usually the case. It would be interesting to know the number of persons dependent on small boats for their living. But we evidently cannot get this information from the figures. It seems, however, that the importance of the small boat may be declining. Reference is invited to the figures of Group 17, "*Fishing*" discussed above.

Order 21.—Transport by Road.

Workers—1911	...Males	20,060,	Females	598,	Dependents	15,893.
„ —1921	... „	13,134,	„	178,	„	11,386.

Here also there is a decrease.

Group 113—“Owners, Managers and employees (excluding personal servants) connected with mechanically driven vehicles including trams”, *Group 111*—“Owners, Managers and employees (excluding personal servants) connected with other vehicles”, and *Group 116*—“Pack elephant, camel, mule, ass and bullock owners and drivers”, were last time not separated. The figures are—

All Vehicles, Workers—1911	...Males	15,178,	Females	138.
Motor „ —1921	... „	2,031,	„	28.
Other „ —	... „	4,763,	„	78.
Pack animal drivers „ — „	... „	5,239,	„	47.
				153.
				12,033

In the first place the 1921 Group figures for *Group 116*, “Drivers, &c., of pack animals”, are almost certainly wrong. There must be a fair number of pack donkeys on earth works in the north of the Island, but there cannot be enough to support five thousand persons. It is clear that there has been a wrong classification, probably due to the Sorters and Compilers not knowing the meaning of the word “pack”, and classifying bullock cart drivers to this Group. The reduction in the combined figures is probably correct, since the increased use of motor lorries has been a noticeable feature of the decade, and every such lorry does away with much more than one cart.

Group 117—“Porters and Messengers”.

Workers—1911	...Males	4,768,	Females	351.
„ —1921	... „	591,	„	...

There is clearly a mistake here. It is difficult to detect the cause. The 1911 figure was probably too high and the 1921 figure too low. In all probability Railway porters were included here in 1911, but have got into the next Order on this occasion.

Order 22.—Transport by Rail.

Workers—1911	...Males	15,454,	Females	138.
„ —1921	... „	18,384,	„	1,027.

A possible explanation of part of this rise has been suggested under *Group 117* above. On the other hand if the suggestion regarding allocation here in 1911 of persons shown this time under *Group 46* “Forging and rolling of iron, &c.” is correct (see above), then the rise is more than it would otherwise be.

Amalgamating the various figures we get—

Group 46, Workers—1911	...Males	10,	Females	...
„ 117, „ „	... „	4,768,	„	351.
Order 22, „ „	... „	15,454,	„	138.
				489.
Group 46, Workers—1921	...Males	2,583,	Females	43.
„ 117, „ „	... „	591,	„	....
Order 22, „ „	... „	18,384,	„	1,027.
				1,070.
				21,558,

Sub-Class V.—Trade.

Workers—1911	...Males	77,200,	Females	7,125,	Dependents	76,414
„ —1921	... „	102,161,	„	9,515,	„	101,529:

While the totals for the Sub-Class rise, the individual figures in many groups fall. The cause of this will be understood from the following :—

Order 25.—Brokerage Commission and Export.

Workers—1911	...Males	6,096,	Females	47.
„ —1921	... „	9,427,	„	97.

and—

Order 40.—Group 152, “General storekeepers and shopkeepers otherwise unspecified”.

Workers—1911	...Males	14,450,	Females	755.
„ —1921	... „	28,704,	„	1,671.

This Group in 1911 did not specify “General Storekeepers” which has been added this time to accommodate the type of shop so common in the mofussil known as “*kirane*” and other analogous terms.

The rise in Order 25 means that persons have this time got into the Table as Brokers who last time got in as traders, and the rise in Group 152 covers most of the other losses. But there is yet a third refuge for the incompetent Sorter, namely :—

Group 154.—“Other trade (including farmers of pounds, tolls and markets)”.

Workers—1911	...Males	118,	Females	5.
„ 1921	... „	2,409,	„	227.

Large reductions occur in Order 26, Trade in Textiles, Group 136, “Grain and pulse dealers,” Group 139 “Dealers in hay, grass and fodder,” Order 35, Trade in Furniture, Order 38, Dealers in fuel, and Group 148, “Dealers in precious stones, jewelry, &c.” With the exception of the fuel dealers these reductions can be attributed to the cause already noted. Fuel may possibly be less important in view of the increase in electrical power.

Increases occur in Order 28, Trade in Wood (other than firewood), Order 29, Trade in Metals, Machinery, Knives, Tools, &c., Order 34, Trade in Clothing and Toilet Articles, and a few others. The following may be noted as interesting :—

*Order 32.—Hotels, Cafes, Restaurants, &c.**Group 129.—“Vendors of wine, liquors, aerated waters and ice.”*

Workers—1911	...Males	1,862,	Females	78.
„ 1921	... „	1,522,	„	32.

Group 130.—“Owners and Managers of hotels, cookshops, serais, &c., and their employees.”

Workers—1911	...Males	5,012,	Females	822.
„ 1921	... „	7,572,	„	1,011.

Sub-Class VI.—Public Force. Order 41.—Army.

Workers—1911	...Males	2,930,	Females	...
„ 1921	... „	6,136,	„	50.

The increase is mainly due to the presence of a large transport in the harbour.

The Navy on the other hand shows a reduction, but the figures are never important.

Group 159.—“Police.”

Workers—1911	...Males	3,510,	Females	...
„ 1921	... „	3,226,	„	4.

Sub-Class VII.—Public Administration.

The total falls slightly. This is caused by the following—*Group 161, "Service of the State (not assigned to any other specified Group)"*.

Workers—1911	...Males	4,146,	Females	6.
"	1921	... "	358,	" 5.

This 1921 figure is impossible. It is feared that the Government Clerical Establishment has gone almost solid into *Group 185* under "*clerks—in unspecified offices—*" which group this time rises from 35,297 to 43,271.

In contradistinction to this we have the following—*Group 163, "Municipal and other Local (not village) servants not assigned to any other specified group."*

Workers—1911	...Males	4,787,	Females	607.
"	1921	... "	6,982,	" 1,950.

The cause of this rise is suggested under *Group 103* above, namely that some of the Municipal sweepers were in 1911 classified as sweepers, but have this time been allocated here. A rise was inevitable, but not so big a rise.

Sub-Class VIII.—Professions and the Liberal Arts.

Workers—1911	...Males	15,789,	Females	2,038,	Dependents	17,780.
"	1921	... "	14,163,	" 2,199,	"	17,351.

This Sub-Class includes Religion, Law, Medicine, Instruction, and Letters Arts and Sciences. The reduction is hardly likely to be correct, and may be attributed to the wrong classification resulting in persons going into "*Insufficiently described occupations*" who ought to have gone in here.

Sub-Class X.—Domestic Service.

Workers—1911	...Males	45,130,	Females	9,736,	Dependents	17,090.
"	1921	... "	33,695,	" 8,860,	"	17,346.

The large reduction in this Sub-Class is surprising. We have one entirely new *Group 183, "Private motor drivers and cleaners"*, with

Workers—Males	3,391,	Females	96,	Dependents	3,250.
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But the other two (old) groups show heavy falls, *i. e.*, all servants both indoor and outdoor. It is possible that the high cost of living, and the exchange of the bungalow for the flat has caused a genuine reduction in the number of household servants required. There is no other obvious explanation. The groups which in 1901 might be allocated here total 45,014 males and 8,563 females. There is no reason why the domestic servants should get into "*Insufficiently described Occupations.*"

Sub-Class XI.—Insufficiently described Occupations.

Workers—1911	...Males	92,903,	Females	13,651,	Dependents	73,644.
"	1921	... "	175,173,	" 30,297,	"	129,059.

There is a regrettable rise in this Sub-Class. Of course a fairly large number of persons *ought* always to go in here, especially coolies with no special line, clerks out of work, and so on. But the number is far too high, and the total workers and dependents amount to no less than 28·4 of the total population of the Island, against 18·4 in 1911. The only group which falls is 186 "*Mechanics otherwise unspecified.*" There is a big rise in 185 "*Cashiers, accountants, book-keepers, clerks and other employees in unspecified offices, warehouses and shops,*" and also in 187, "*Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified.*" This Group, the figures of which are—

Workers—1911	...Males	50,689,	Females	12,810.
"	1921	... "	128,123,	" 27,749.

almost certainly includes a good number of mill-hands.

135. In the following Table an attempt is made to redistribute the figures appearing in this Sub-Class. It will be seen that a certain number of clerks and a considerable number of Labourers are left as before, in pursuance of what is stated above. The figures of those transferred and those left are speculative only, but arrived at after due consideration, on the basis of probability.

Proposed Redistribution of persons entered in the General Occupational Table under Sub-Class XI—Insufficiently Described Occupation.

		Group under which appearing in the General Occupation Table.							
		184. Manufacturers, Businessmen and Contractors otherwise unspecified.		185. Cashiers, Accountants, Book-keepers, Clerks and other employees in unspecified offices, warehouses and shops.		186. Mechanics otherwise unspecified.		187. Labourers and Workmen otherwise unspecified.	
Sub-Class to which transferred.		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
	Sub-Class III, Industry ...	1,000	400	4,000	450	800	100	55,000	11,000
	Sub-Class V, Trade ...	1,000	300	25,000	400	12	1	800	200
	Sub-Class IV, Transport...	700	40	1,000	50	250	10	5,000	500
	Sub-Classes I and II—Agriculture and Mines.	17	2	71	5			2,000	300
	Sub-Classes VI and VII—Public Administration and Public Force.			3,000	190			100	10
	Sub-Classes VIII and IX—Professions and the Liberal Arts, and Persons living on Income.			5,200	100			100	10
	Sub-Class X—Domestic Service.							1,000	200
	Remaining over as genuine cases of persons of clerical or labouring occupation, not assignable to any definite Sub-Class.			5,000	500			64,123	15,529

136. The figures from Sub-Class XI having been thus redistributed* the following Table is presented showing the estimated redistribution of the whole population by main types of occupation. Dependents are taken in lump without distinction by occupation. The basis on which each set of figures of workers is arrived at is set forth in detail. In the case of Industry the figures from the Industrial Tables, being on the fact of them much more reliable than any figures in the General Occupational Table, were taken first, and then adjustments added to get the totals. Nothing else calls for special comment, as the method of working is fully set forth.

* It may be asked why minor adjustments were not made for the particular cases in the detailed discussion already given where it is believed that persons have got wrongly transferred in Classification from one group to another. The answer is that such minor adjustments would (1) have been based on speculation only, and (2) have rendered the ultimate resulting figures far too complicated. By confining adjustments to Sub-Class XI only and stating them in detail any reader can make his own deductions from the actual figures in City Table VII and can modify the adjustments made in this Report, if he considers them wrong.

*Proposed Distribution of the Population of Bombay Town and
Island by Occupations, 1921.*

Workers.

	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
CLASS A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS.				
SUB-CLASS I.—EXPLOITATION OF ANIMALS AND VEGETATION, AND SUB-CLASS II.—EXPLOITATION OF MINERALS.				
Form the General Occupation Table ...	6,961	2,025		
Add transferred from Sub-Class XI, as explained in separate Table.	2,088	307		
<i>Total Agriculture and Mines ...</i>			9,049	2,332
CLASS B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.				
SUB-CLASS III.—INDUSTRY.				
<i>Industrial Operatives.—</i>				
1. Textiles ...	120,950	36,740		
2. Others ...	39,724	1,719		
	160,674	38,459		
<i>Industrial Workers above the rank of Operatives.—</i>				
1. Textiles ...	3,983	1		
2. Others ...	4,044	51		
	8,027	52		
Total employed in Industrial Establishments, as defined, 1921, for the separate Industrial Census.	168,701	38,511		
Add difference between total workers in Industrial Establishments and total workers in Sub-Class III in the General Occupational Table.	19,978	3,837		
Add transferred from Sub-Class XI, as explained in separate Table.	60,800	11,950		
<i>Total Industries ...</i>			249,479	54,298
SUB-CLASS IV.—TRANSPORT.				
From the General Occupation Table ...	64,686	2,673		
Add transferred from Sub-Class XI ...	6,950	600		
<i>Total Transport ...</i>			71,636	3,273
SUB-CLASS V.—TRADE.				
From the General Occupation Table ...	102,161	9,515		
Add transferred from Sub-Class XI ...	26,812	901		
<i>Total Trade ...</i>			128,973	10,416
CLASS C.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND THE LIBERAL ARTS.				
SUB-CLASS VI.—PUBLIC FORCE AND SUB-CLASS VII.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.				
From the General Occupation Table ...	17,517	2,286		
Add transferred from Sub-Class XI ...	3,100	200		
<i>Total Public Force and Administration ...</i>			20,617	2,486

CLASS D.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SUB-CLASS VIII.—PROFESSIONS

AND THE LIBERAL ARTS AND

SUB-CLASS IX.—PERSONS

LIVING ON INCOME.

From the General Occupation Table ...	17,357	3,185
Add transferred from Sub-Class XI ...	5,300	110

Total Professions, &c., and persons living on income ... 22,657 3,295

SUB-CLASS X.—DOMESTIC SERVICE.

From the General Occupation Table ...	33,695	8,860
Add transferred from Sub-Class XI ...	1,000	200

Total Domestic service ... 34,695 9,060

BALANCE LEFT IN SUB-CLASS XI.—

GENERAL OCCUPATIONS, NOT
ASSIGNABLE TO ANY OTHER.

Sub-Class—1. Clerks, &c. ...	5,000	500
Sub-Class—2. Labourers, &c. ...	64,123	15,529

Total Insufficiently described ... 69,123 16,029

SUB-CLASS XII.—UNPRODUCTIVE OCCU-
PATIONS, INMATES OF JAILS, &c.,
BEGGARS, &c., PROSTITUTES, &c.

... 5,068 4,483

GRAND TOTAL WORKERS ... 611,297 105,672

DEPENDENTS ON ALL OCCUPATIONS 160,035 298,910
WITHOUT DISTINCTION.

GRAND TOTAL (Population) ... 771,332 404,582

137. Having got the figures arrived at in the manner explained in the above Table we can set them down in a concise form, and take out the percentages to the total population.

	Actual Numbers.			Percentages on total population of each sex and of both sexes combined.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes combined.
ACTUAL WORKERS.						
1. Agriculture and Mines ...	9,049	2,332	11,381	1·2	·6	1·0
2. Industries—						
(a) Textile Operatives.	120,950	36,740	159,690	15·7	9·1	12·4
(b) All others ...	128,529	17,558	146,087	16·7	4·3	13·4
Total Industries ...	229,479	54,298	303,777	32·4	13·4	25·8
3. Transport ...	71,636	3,273	74,909	9·2	·8	6·4
4. Trade ...	128,973	10,415	139,389	16·7	2·6	11·8
5. Government and Local Bodies.	20,617	2,486	23,103	2·7	·6	2·0
6. Professions and private income.	22,657	3,295	25,952	2·9	·8	2·2
7. Domestic Service ...	34,695	9,060	43,755	4·5	2·2	3·8
8. Workers not assignable to any other head.	69,123	16,029	85,152	9·0	4·0	7·2
9. Unproductive ...	5,068	4,463	9,551	0·6	1·2	·8
GRAND TOTAL WORKERS.	611,297	105,672	716,969	79·2	26·2	61·0
DEPENDENTS ...	160,035	298,910	458,945	20·8	73·8	39·0
TOTAL POPULATION ...	771,332	404,582	1,175,914	...	...	...

138. The Industrial Tables give a number of minor figures which it is not proposed to discuss, for instance the caste and birth-place of skilled and unskilled workmen, and many other things. The two examples cited are not tabulated in detail, as is done for instance in City Table VI, Part II, but are only sufficiently given to the extent possible without overweighing the Table. Anyone wishing for information regarding workers and industries in Bombay can get extensive and varied information from the Industrial Tables. But since birth-place in general has already been very fully discussed and occupations also, it is not proposed to take up further space by merely setting forth figures that do not require explanation.

139. Still less justification would seem to exist for setting forth details of the kind of power employed in Industrial Establishments, regarding which full information will be found in the Tables. The Census collects Industrial information as a sort of addition to its ordinary work, because it has ready the organisation for tabulating the results. But it was felt that, as there is a Department of Industries, the discussion of the number of Establishments, the class of workmen, and still more the types of mechanical power more properly belongs to that Department.

SECTION 19.—BEGGARS, VAGRANTS, AND RELIGIOUS MENDICANTS IN BOMBAY.

140. The Census slips for Beggars, &c., were subjected to special sorting in order to take out certain figures. No Tabulation by infirmities was attempted because—(1) Infirmities, not being entered on the ordinary Slips, would have involved further operations in the way of reference to the Enumeration Books, and therefore extra cost; (2) the Census record of Infirmities is not very valuable; and (3) by the time that the special sorting was undertaken the Corporation had decided to make a special count of beggars, and in that count infirmities, including several which are not recorded at the Census, were particularly attended to. The results of the Corporation's special count are published in Item No. 69 of their proceedings.

141. In comparing the results of the two enquiries the different definitions adopted must be borne in mind—

(I) In the general Census the definition will be as follows:—

"All persons who returned their occupation, or whose occupation was returned by others, as Beggar, Religious Mendicant or any vernacular term translatable into either of these."

(II) In the Corporation's special count the definition was—

"Any person found actually begging at the time."

142. The general Census was taken between the hours of 6-0 p.m. and midnight on 18th March 1921. The Corporation's special count was taken between the hours of 7-30 and 10-30 a.m. on 6th November 1921.

143. The total numbers obtained at the special count were 6,883. The Executive Health Officer remarked—"the figures do not represent the total number of beggars in the City, but they may be accepted as conclusive evidence that the total number whatever it may be is considerably in excess of 7,000." The figures obtained at the general Census are 7,724, which bears out the Health Officer's remark. Yet even so it has to be remembered that even in India there are probably more persons who, being truly beggars, will falsely record their occupation as anything else, than *vice versa*. On the other hand again it has also to be remembered that the figures of beggars are not likely to be so constant from day to day as those of many other professions. There is nothing to indicate whether the date of the Census (18th March 1921) was a date on which beggary would be about normal. On the whole the figure 8,000 may be fairly taken as the approximate number of beggars present in Bombay, on any day in 1921, this figure being corroborated by both counts; and any considerably higher estimate *has nothing to support it*.

144. As regards the two occupations—Beggary and Religious Mendicancy—reference is invited to the Caste Table which follows. The following may be taken to Religious Mendicants:—

- (I) Caste or profession names indicating Religious Mendicant,
- (II) Brahmans (almost all of whom would belong to that Category) and
- (III) Fakirs.

Probably many of the Jains would also be Religious Mendicants. But they can be excluded, because (1) their numbers are small, and (2) their exclusion would counterbalance any Brahmans who, not being Religious Mendicants, have been incorrectly taken to that head. The figures thus obtained are as follows:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Religious Mendicants ...	1,903	454	2,357
Ordinary Beggars ...	3,811	1,556	5,367
Total ...	5,714	2,010	7,724

145. This gives percentages of Religious Mendicants to the Total as follows:—Males 33, Females 23, Both Sexes 31. These percentages are slightly higher than those obtained by the Health Officer, whose figures contained approximately 29 per cent. of Religious Mendicants. The difference is very small, and is easily explicable on the assumption that some Religious Mendicants would at the time of the special count be inside temples and Maths.

146. I regard the above figures and percentages obtained from the Caste figures in the manner explained as more correct than those of the Occupational Table of the General Census. These are as follows:—

	Actual Workers		Dependents	Total.
	Males.	Females.	Both Sexes.	
Religious Mendicants ...	832	61	230	1,123
Ordinary Beggars ...	4,430	1,360	811	6,601

It would seem that the Enumerators at the General Census did not always make an exact distinction between the two occupations. Nor is it to have been expected that they would, since many Religious Mendicants would return “Bhikshuki” as their profession, and in practice in the vernacular languages the same terms are used to describe the two occupations. A Brahman beggar may be regarded as a religious mendicant, but will usually describe himself as a beggar. Only if any legal action were taken to segregate beggars and leave religious mendicants to their calling he would certainly pass himself off as a mendicant. And for that reason the figure of beggars who would have to be provided for in such a contingency is much nearer 5,367 than 6,601.

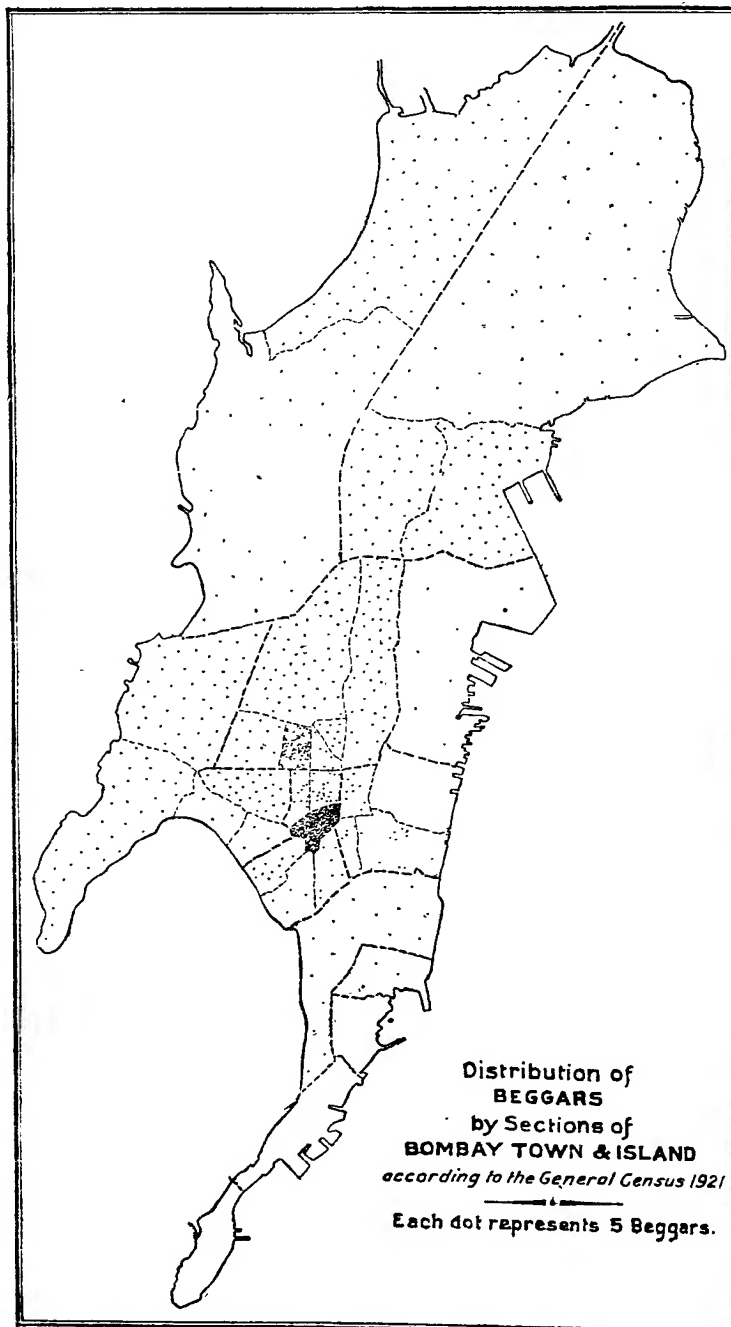
147. The first Table gives the distribution among the sections of the Island. The regions in which beggars chiefly reside at night can thereby be determined. Bhuleshwar comes easily first. The map also illustrates distribution.

148. The second Table gives the distribution by Castes. The only surprising feature is the extraordinarily high number of Waghris. This caste is an exceedingly destitute caste from Gujarat. And the cause of the influx of these people seems to call for enquiry.

149. The third Table shows distribution by Birth-place. The United Provinces send to Bombay large numbers of beggars. This is in accordance with general Birth-place statistics. Of the total population of Bombay City no less than 70,911 persons returned the United Provinces as their Birth-place,—a figure far higher than that for any other separate Province, and 29 per cent. of the total number of those born in India beyond the Presidency. The number

of Beggars from Gujarat comes to 1,140, and, if the Waghri caste figure (682) is correct, it follows that more than half the Beggars from Gujarat are of that caste.

150. The fourth Table is in three parts. The first part gives the distribution of Beggars by Age, Sex and Civil Condition. The second part compares the age distribution with that of the General population. As might be expected the proportion of beggars in the lowest age groups is lower and in the highest age groups higher than the proportions for the General population. This calls for no comment. The third part compares the distribution by Civil Condition with that of the similar distribution for the General population, each age group being treated separately. Here as might be expected, beggars are found to marry late. The suddenness with which the married percentage begins at age 20-25 is however unnatural. In all such studies there would normally be a gradual progression of figures; and this is observable in the percentages for the General population. The explanation is not at the moment obvious; but it must be remembered that if the age group 20-25 were analysed down to individual years the gradual progression might quite possibly be found to exist, though not observable when the figures are studied by five year groups. The figures however demonstrate that child widows do *not* seem to be driven to beggary, nor young married women; and these points are important.



151. Figures* also taken out which demonstrated illiteracy among Beggars. This again was to be expected. And it may rather cause surprise that there are as many as 246 literate males and 47 literate females who do not earn a living rather than that the ratio of literates is lower than is the general population.

Table I.—Distribution of Beggars, &c., by Sections in Bombay Town and Island, 1921.

Ward.	Section.	Males.	Females.	Total.
GRAND TOTAL ...		5,714	2,010	7,724
A. TOTAL ...		84	20	104
	Upper Colaba ...	1		1
	Lower Colaba ...			
	Fort South ...			
	Fort North ...	5	9	14
	Esplanade ...	78	11	89
B. TOTAL ...		638	312	950
	Chuckla ...	168	35	203
	Mandvi ...	377	245	622
	Umarkhadi ...	93	32	125
	Dongri ...			
C. TOTAL ...		1,563	344	1,907
	Market ...	119	37	156
	Dhobi Talao ...	20	8	28
	Fanaswadi ...	50	26	76
	Bhuleshwar ...	1,006	199	1,205
	Kumbharwada ...	183	35	218
	Khara Talao ...	185	39	224
D. TOTAL ...		577	102	679
	Khetwadi ...	119	24	143
	Girgaum ...	6	7	13
	Chowpati ...		15	15
	Walkeshwar ...	272		272
	Mahalaxmi ...	180	56	236
E. TOTAL ...		961	523	1,484
	Tardeo ...	49	15	64
	Kamatipura ...	418	160	578
	First Nagpada ...	19	26	45
	Second Nagpada ...	22	68	90
	Byculla ...	235	112	347
	Tadwadi ...	190	134	324
	Mazagaon ...	28	8	36
F. TOTAL ...		476	272	748
	Parel ...	119	69	188
	Sewri ...	182	98	280
	Sion ...	175	105	280
G. TOTAL ...		477	248	725
	Mahim ...	283	160	443
	Warli ...	194	88	282
HOMELESS (i. e., Police Enumeration), Railway platforms and Boats.		938	189	1,127

* Not printed.

Table II.—Distribution of Beggars, &c., by Religion and Caste, Bombay Town and Island, 1921.

Caste.	Males.	Females.	Total.
A.—HINDU ...	4,219	1,447	5,666
<i>I. Caste or Profession names indicating Religious Mendicants—</i>			
Bava ...	111	111	222
Bhute ...	3		3
Gondhali ...	99		99
Gosavi ...	497	192	689
Sadhu ...	456	49	505
	1,166	352	1,518
<i>II. Brahmans—</i>			
Brahman Audicch ...	16		16
„ Deshasth ...	11		11
„ Gaud Sarasvat ...	77		77
„ Karade ...	2		2
„ Chitpavan ...	3		3
„ Unspecified ...	563	48	611
	672	48	720
<i>III. Cultivating and Herdsman Castes—</i>			
Agri ...	71	9	80
Ahur ...	31	11	42
Bhandari ...	39	15	84
Bhoi ...	5		5
Dhangar ...	25	6	31
Gawali ...	30	3	33
Kharvi ...	6		6
Koli ...	12		12
Kunbi ...	56	108	164
Kurmi ...	16		16
Lohana ...	4	18	22
Mali ...	6		6
Maratha ...	762	141	903
Patidar and “Patel” ...	18	13	31
Rajput ...	31	1	32
	1,112	355	1,467
<i>IV. Artisan and Trading Castes—</i>			
Bania ...	68	28	96
Dhobi ...	5	1	6
Gavandi and Kadiya ...	2		2
Kasar ...	3		3
Khatri ...	9	1	10
Kumbhar ...	3	1	4
Nhavi ...	3		3
Sali ...	3		3
Teli ...	2		2
Bhisti ...		7	7
	98	38	136
<i>V. Jungle and Wild Tribes—</i>			
Dubla ...	4	2	6
Rawal ...	2		2
Thakur ...	19	15	34
Vaghri ...	442	240	682
	467	257	724

Caste.		Males.	Females.	Total.
<i>VI. Wanderers and Gypsies—</i>				
Bahurupi	...	21	35	56
Beldar	...	12		12
Bhat	...	13	4	17
		46	39	85
<i>VII. Depressed Classes—</i>				
Bhangi	...	13	5	18
Chambhar	...	17	2	19
Mahar and Dhed	...	373	191	564
Mang	...	65	51	116
		468	249	717
<i>VIII. Strangers from other parts of India.</i>				
		190	109	299
B.—MAHOMEDAN				
	...	1,393	484	1,877
Fakir	...	65	54	119
Others	...	1,323	430	1,753
C.—JAIN				
	...	58	25	83
D.—PARSI				
	...	1	7	8
E.—CHRISTIAN				
	...	42	44	86
F.—JEW				
	...	1	3	4

Table III.—Distribution of Beggars, &c., by Birth-place, Bombay Town and Island, 1921.

Birth-place.		Males.	Females.	Total.
Bombay Town and Island		526	198	724
KONKAN	... { Thana and Bombay Suburban	20	38	58
	... { Kolaba and Janjira	41	65	106
	... { Ratnagiri	462	111	573
DECCAN	... { Khandesh and Nasik	86	59	145
	... { Ahmednagar	112	48	160
	... { Poona and Bhore	549	232	781
	... { Satara	521	171	692
	... { Sholapur	190	32	222
	... { Hyderabad (Deccan)	171	129	300
SOUTH INDIA	... { Karnatak Districts, Kanara and	21	17	38
	... { Savantwadi.			
	... { Mysore, Madras and Malabar	39	35	74
	... { Kolhapur	157	10	167

Birth-place.			Males.	Females.	Total.
GUJARAT	...	British Districts of Gujarat	200	86	286
		Kathiawar	485	214	699
		Mahi Kantha	...	10	10
		Rewa Kantha	51	22	73
		Cutch	11	18	29
		Baroda State	35	8	43
SIND AND RAJPU-TANA.	{	Sind (including Khairpur)	17	11	28
		Rajputana and Ajmer	44	73	117
CENTRAL INDIA	{	Berar and Central Provinces	68	35	103
		Central India Agency	26	12	38
		Gwalior	37	1	38
NORTH INDIA	{	United Provinces	1,483	272	1,755
		Punjab, N. W. F. Province and	229	27	256
		Delhi.			
BENGAL	...	Bengal, Behar and Orissa	55	36	91
BURMA	...		3		3
GOA	...		25	15	40
REST OF INDIA AND INDIA UNSPECIFIED.	...		9	7	16
AFGHANISTAN	...		14	13	27
OUTSIDE INDIA	...		27	5	32
			5,714	2,010	7,724

Table IV.—Part I.—Age and Civil Condition of Beggars, &c., in Bombay Town and Island, 1921. Actual Numbers.

Age.	Males.			Females.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
0	14			10		
1	23			22		
2	29			28		
3	35			35		
4	41			35		
0—5	142			130		
5—10	273			100		
10—15	331			102		
15—20	383			221		
20—25	415	425		55	152	6
25—30	330	332	2	40	170	8
30—35	281	399	13	25	199	28
35—40	206	336	46	26	201	37
40—45	128	655	145	29	130	33
45—50	63	220	60	20	54	49
50—55	35	214	20		18	111
55—60		19	62			27
60 and over		58	121			39
Total	2,587	2,658	469	748	924	338

Table IV, Part II.—Age distribution of Beggars, &c., compared with that of the General Population, Bombay Town and Island, 1921.

Age.	Actual Numbers Beggars.		Proportions per 1,000.			
			Beggars.		General Population.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
0	14	10				
1	23	22				
2	29	28				
3	35	35				
4	41	35				
0—5	142	130	25	65	45	84
5—10	273	100	48	50	60	103
10—15	331	102	58	51	72	88
15—20	383	221	67	110	91	100
20—25	840	213	147	106	140	144
25—30	664	218	116	109	167	135
30—35	693	252	121	125	151	113
35—40	588	264	103	131	102	65
40—45	928	192	163	96	74	59
45—50	343	123	60	61	36	31
50—55	269	129	47	64	31	36
55—60	81	27	14	13	11	11
60 & over	179	39	31	19	20	31
			1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

Table IV, Part III.—Percentage distribution by Civil Condition at each age period of (1) Beggars, &c., and (2) General Populations, Bombay Town and Island, 1921.

Age.	Males.						Females.					
	Beggars.			General Population.			Beggars.			General Population.		
	Unmd.	Md.	Widd.	Unmd.	Md.	Widd.	Unmd.	Md.	Widd.	Unmd.	Md.	Widd.
0	100			100			100			100		
1	100			100			100			99	1	
2	100			100			100			99	1	
3	100			99	1		100			99	1	
4	100			99	1		100			99	1	
0—5	100			99	1		100			99	1	
5—10	100			98	2		100			95	5	
10—15	100			92	8		100			68	31	1
15—20	100			74	26		100			23	75	2
20—25	49	51		44	55	1	26	71	3	9	87	4
25—30	50	50		23	75	2	19	78	3	6	86	8
30—35	40	58		11	86	3	10	79	11	5	81	14
35—40	35	57	8	8	88	4	10	76	14	4	71	25
40—45	14	71	15	5	89	6	15	68	17	3	56	41
45—50	18	64	18	5	87	8	16	44	40	3	47	50
50—55	13	80	7	4	83	13		14	86	2	34	64
55—60		23	77	5	80	15			100	3	33	64
60 & over		32	68	4	73	23			100	2	21	77
All ages	45	47	8	37	60		37	46	17	30	56	14

SECTION 20.—PROSTITUTION IN BOMBAY.

152. This enquiry was made by means of a special sorting of the slips over and above the sorting required for the ordinary Census Tables.

Group No. 190.—"Prostitutes and Procurers" consisted of the following:—

Actual workers... Males 104, Females 2,995.

Dependents... „ 385, „ 520.

In the actual schedules all the above 489 males both workers and dependents had been shown as Procurer or some analogous term, and all the 3,525 females, both workers and dependents, as Prostitute.

153. Prostitute for Census purposes means such person as returns her occupation as prostitution or other analogous term*. Thus private prostitutes, if any, who normally conceal their profession, would not get into our Census schedules as Prostitutes. Only those get in whose occupation is so obvious, or who are so hardened to opinion, that concealment is either impossible or unnecessary.

154. Dependent means a person who is shown in the schedules as dependent upon a prostitute for her livelihood. It is important to note that all females whose ages were returned as 13 and below were shown as dependents, and all those whose ages were returned as 14 and above were shown as actual workers. It will be noted that while the numbers returned as dependents at ages from 9 to 13 are never less than 38 for any individual year of age, and the numbers returned as actual workers at ages from 15 to 20 never less than 30, yet at age 14 only 5 were returned. The explanation of these points seems to lie in the existing penal laws. It is evidently considered unsafe to return a girl as age 14 or below and occupation prostitute.

155. So far as actual numbers are concerned it is possible to compare the figures with those of 1901. No comparisons with 1911 are possible, because at that Census Prostitutes were amalgamated in an Occupational group with Beggars, Vagrants and others.

156. In 1901 the total number of Prostitutes, Actual Workers, was 1,942, and in 1921 was 2,995. These give per mille rates on the Total Population of 2·5 in 1901 and 2·6 in 1921. It has to be remembered however that in 1901 it was estimated that 43,200 persons were absent as refugees on account of plague. It is impossible to say for certain, but it is probable that the professional prostitutes would not for the most part be able to leave the City at such a time. The per mille rate might therefore have been lower in that year had there been no plague. But the difference would be *very slight*†. And it may be stated definitely that if there is any theory current to the effect that prostitution has increased more rapidly than the general population in the last twenty years, that theory is not borne out by the figures.

157. Certain changes have however taken place. The regional distribution of Prostitutes within the Island has changed a good deal since 1901. The Table which follows gives the Sectional figures for comparison.

[See next page for Table.]

* But not "Dancing Girl", which at all Censuses has been taken to the group for Musicians, &c.

† Even adding 45,000 persons to the Total Population the rate would only decline from 2·5 to 2·4 per cent.

*Distribution of Prostitutes, Actual workers, Females, by Sections of
Bombay City, 1901 and 1921.*

Ward.	Section.	Number of Prostitutes.		Ward.	Section.	Number of Prostitutes.	
		1901.	1921.			1901.	1921.
A.	Upper Colaba ...			D.	Khetwadi ...	350	779
	Lower Colaba ...				Girgaon ...	175	289
	Fort South ...	6			Chowpati ...	54	193
	Fort North ...				Walkeshwar ...	15	
	Esplanade ...				Mahalaxmi ...	4	
B.	Chuckla ...	87	28	E.	Tardeo ...	142	444
	Mandvi ...				Kamatipura ...	207	896
	Umarkhadi ...	4			1st Nagpada ...	1	
	Dongri ...	5			2nd Nagpada ...	10	3
C.	Market ...	42	1		Byculla ...	9	13
	Dhobi Talao ...	65	1	F.	Tadwadi ...	2	1
	Fanaswadi ...	328	316		Mazagaon ...	3	2
	Bhuleshwar ...	46	4		Parel ...	1	
	Kumbharwada ...	223	11		Sewri ...	7	
	Khara Talao ...	131	2		Sion ...	5	
				G.	Mahim ...	6	
					Worli ...	12	

158. The Table shows clearly that together with the increase in the number of prostitutes there has been a concentration into more and more definite areas. From many Sections they have disappeared, and from others are disappearing. The two Sections Kamatipura and Tardeo contained in 1901 18 per cent. of the total number of prostitutes, and in 1921 no less than 45 per cent. The significance of this will be understood later.

159. The number of dependents on prostitutes (both sexes) in 1901 was 477, and in 1921 (females) 530. It is impossible now to guess whether any males were returned as dependents in 1911. But assuming a similarity of custom it may be stated as approximately correct that the proportion of dependents to actual workers was in 1901, 1 in 4.1, and in 1921, 1 in 5.7. The significance of this also will appear later.

160. In 1901 only 29 actual workers,—28 males and one female—and 6 dependents—(both sexes combined)—returned their occupation as terms classifiable under the Group “Procurers, Pimps, &c.” In 1921 the number of Procurers, Brothel Keepers, &c., is 489 males,—104 actual workers and 385 dependents. No females returned such an occupation. This is important. It is well known that many old women keep brothels in Bombay, as in all cities. But it is probable that all such are backed up by a male supporter. As a matter of fact the 489 males were all or almost all returned as Procurers or Pimps and their dependents, and not as Brothel House Keeper, an occupation which would be considered dangerous to return. The Census cannot get at the numbers in secret occupations. But the great increase of our figure 489 over the figure 28 in 1901 seems to imply increased callousness of opinion in certain quarters of Bombay. There may not be proportionately more pimps than before; but there seem to be proportionately more who do not mind proclaiming themselves such.

161. We can now consider the 1921 figures only. In the Tables at the end of the note the ratios of dependents to actual workers is shown in several cases. The significance of this is that the figures disclose two separate types of prostitution, which we might call the Indian and the International. These terms are used without any intention of pressing their apparent meaning too closely, but merely for convenience. Of these types the first will be seen to be dominant in the chief prostitution Sections of C and D Wards, where the ratio of dependents to workers ranges from 1 in 1·2 in Chowpati to 1 in 8·5 in Fanaswadi. The second type is dominant in the Tardeo Kamatipura area, where the ratio is 1 in 34 and 1 in 33.

162. These types are noticeable in the case of castes and religions also. Of the more important religions there is 1 dependent for every 5 workers in the case of Hindus, 1 for every 17 Mahomedans, 1 for every 25 Japanese, and 1 for every 88 Christians. The peculiarity of 12 Jew dependents to only 8 workers must be accidental. No importance can be attached to any fact brought out by figures, unless the total numbers under examination are large. The ratios in the other cases would seem to imply either or both of the following tendencies—(1) Hindu prostitutes live under conditions less divorced from ordinary domestic life and have a certain number of children; (2) the ranks of prostitution are filled up among Hindus by recruitment in childhood, but in the case of the other religions later, and in the case of Christians not until puberty.

163. As for the Caste distribution, in the following Castes prostitution is practically traditional—Kalavantin, Kanchan, Kolhati, Bhavin. Kanchan is perhaps rather a North Indian occupational term for prostitute than a true caste. The absence of Murali from the returns is noticeable, and is probably due to fear of prosecution, it being well known that Government interdicted the practice of dedicating girls as Muralis. The large number of Vanis is rather surprising.

164. The age distribution is of interest mainly in the 0-14 period. It will be noticed that the numbers as ages after 9 show a tendency to increase. In the earliest years from 0 to 8 or 9 the majority of the dependents will be children or relations of their supporters. But the rise at 10, which, having regard to the uncertainty of the age returns must be interpreted as 9 or 10, indicates the age at which outside recruitment begins. Among Actual Workers the smallness of the numbers in ages below 20 is rather surprising, but the age returns are necessarily unreliable. The Table appears to prove that among prostitutes there is a lower proportion at all ages up to 19, and during the next two decades a much higher proportion. It would have been expected that prostitutes would show an excess at the period 15 to 19. The most probable inference is that ages of prostitutes below 20 are systematically overstated. Another curious point is the fact that age 35 seems to be avoided. In the original figures there was a great sediment at 34 and very few at 35. This is possibly due to professional vanity on the part of the prostitute herself, who regards 35 as the time-limit for her powers of personal attraction.

165. In the Table of Birth-places the very high figure for Goa is noticeable. Goa is evidently a direct recruiting ground for Bombay Brothels. Other figures which cause surprise are those for Hyderabad (Deccan) and Kashmir. Jodhpur has been merged in Rajputana. But the figure for that State (25) is out of all proportion to its size or its proximity to Bombay.

166. The Birth-places of dependents reveal the fact that for every two prostitutes from Goa there is one child. In the case of Savantvadi the dependents actually outnumber the workers. Can this mean anything except that there is considerable importation of very young children going on from those regions? If the Goanese prostitutes were bearing children in Bombay the birth-place of those children would be Bombay and not Goa.

167. The same phenomenon is brought out by the birth-place returns of Brothel house keepers and procurers. These are largely from down the coast,—Bombay, Goa, Ratnagiri, Savantvadi and Kanara supplying the great majority. The figure for Goa especially is astonishing.

168. The literacy figures are of less interest. The following however is a comparison between literacy among Prostitutes and among the general female population :—

*Number per mille who are literate among Females above 14 years,
in Bombay City, 1921.*

All females.
160.

Prostitutes.
95.

169. To return to the comparison between the 1901 and the 1921 figures—the concentration in Kamatipura and Tardeo, the decreased ratio of dependents, and the remarkable increase in the number of persons returning as procurers all seem to indicate that while the extent of prostitution in Bombay has changed little since 1901, its character has changed a good deal, the Indian or domestic type giving way to the International or Brothel type. This is only an inference and may be incorrect. But it is desirable to point out that such an inference *can* be drawn from the figures.

Table I.—Number and Location of Prostitutes, Actual Workers and Dependents,—Females, in Bombay City, 1921.

Ward.	Section No.	Name of Section.	Number of		Ratio of Dependents to workers in chief areas of prostitution.
			Prostitutes.	Dependents.	
A	1-5				
B	6	Chuckla	...	28	2
	7	Mandvi	...		
	8	Umarkhadi	...		
	9	Dongri	...		
C	10	Market	...	1	
	11	Dhobi Talao	...	1	
	12	Fanaswadi	...	316	37
	13	Bhuleshwar	...	4	1 in 8½
	14	Khara Talao	...	2	
	15	Kumbharvada	...	11	
D	16	Khetwadi	...	779	196
	17	Girgaon	...	289	94
	18	Chowpati	...	193	160
	19	Walkeshwar	...		1 in 1½
	20	Mahalaxmi	...	4	
E	21	Tardeo	...	444	13
	22	Kamatipura	...	896	27
	23	1st Nagpada	...		1 in 34
	24	2nd Nagpada	...	3	1 in 33
	25	Byculla	...	13	3
	26	Tadwadi	...	1	1
	27	Mazgaon	...	2	
F	28-30				
G	31	Mahim	...		
	32	Warli	...	8	3

Table II.—Distribution of Prostitutes, Actual Workers and Dependents, females, and of Procurers and Brothel-keepers, males only, by Religion, Caste and Race, Bombay City, 1921.

Caste.	Number of				
	Prostitutes.	Dependents on Prostitutes.	Ratio of dependents to workers in the chief castes.	Procurers and Brothel-keepers. (Actual workers and dependents combined).	
	Females.	Females.		Males.	
HINDU ...	2,330	482		425	
Mahar and Dhed ...	890	137	1 in $6\frac{1}{2}$	27	
Maratha and Kunbi.	712	254	1 in 3	270	
Kalavantin ...	208	40	1 in 5	35*	* Gan. The males of this Caste are called Gans and the females Kalavant.
Vani ...	105	3	1 in 33	3	
Kolhati ...	85	7	1 in 12	8	
Mang ...	64	5	1 in 13	1	
Kanchan ...	53	4	1 in 13		
Kamati ...	38	4	1 in 9	2	
Bhandari ...	31	9	1 in 3	11	
Rajput ...	30	5	1 in 6	2	
Bhavin ...	28	6	1 in 5	39†	† Devli. The males of this Caste are called Devli and the females Bhavin.
Other Castes and Caste not returned.	86	8		27	
MUSALMAN ...	513	30		58	
Sheikh ...	373	20	1 in $18\frac{1}{2}$	35	
Pathan ...	27	2	1 in 14	2	
Sayyad ...	24	4	1 in 6		
Mogul ...	22				
Khojah ...	15			1	
Arab ...	6				
Others and Unspecified.	46	4		20	
PARSEE ...	6	3			
CHRISTIAN ...	88	1		4	
Indian-Christian ...	64	1	1 in 64	4	
Anglo-Indian ...	17				
English ...	1				
French ...	5				
Russian ...	1				
JEW ...	8	12			
BUDDHIST ...	50	2		2	
Japanese ...	45	2	1 in 22		
Chinese ...	5			2	

Table III.—Birth-districts or countries of Prostitutes, actual workers and dependents, Female, and of Procurers and Brothel House Keepers, Male, Bombay City, 1921.

Birth-place.	Number of			Remarks.
	Prostitutes.	Dependents on Prostitutes.	Procurers and Brothel House Keepers (actual workers and dependents combined).	
Bombay City	460	44	103	
British Districts of Gujarat*	68		12	*Including Gujarat unspecified.
Thana	4		5	
British Districts of the Deccan	827	127	43	
British Districts of the Karnatak.	71		16	
Kolaba	51		4	
Ratnagiri	306	33	76	
Kanara	48	14	13	
Sind	11		5	
Cutch	10		2	
Kathiawar	53	10	5	
Palanpur			1	
Kolhapur	50	8	6	
Savantvadi	14	34	15	
Madras, Mysore and Cochin	16		1	
Hyderabad State	183	26	9	
Baroda	4		4	
Gwalior			3	
Ajmer-Merwara	1			
Rajputana†	38		6	†Mainly Jodhpur.
Bengal	11			
Delhi and Punjab	83	3	8	
Central Provinces	3			
United Provinces	39	1	9	
Burma	1			
Kashmir	41			
Goa	510	225	137	
Arabia	5			
Turkey in Asia	17		1	
Egypt	8			
China			1	
Japan	45			
England	1		1	
France				
Russia	1			

Table IV.—Age and Civil Condition of Prostitutes, actual workers and dependents Female, in Bombay City, 1921.

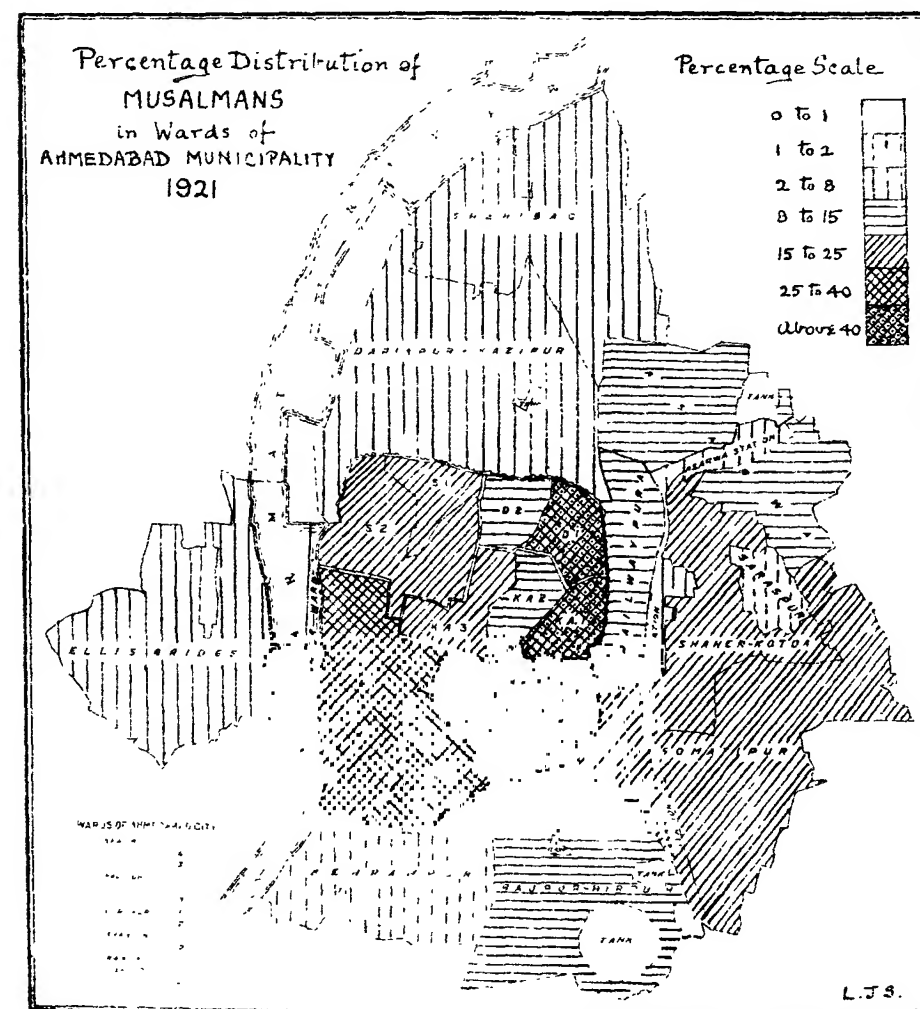
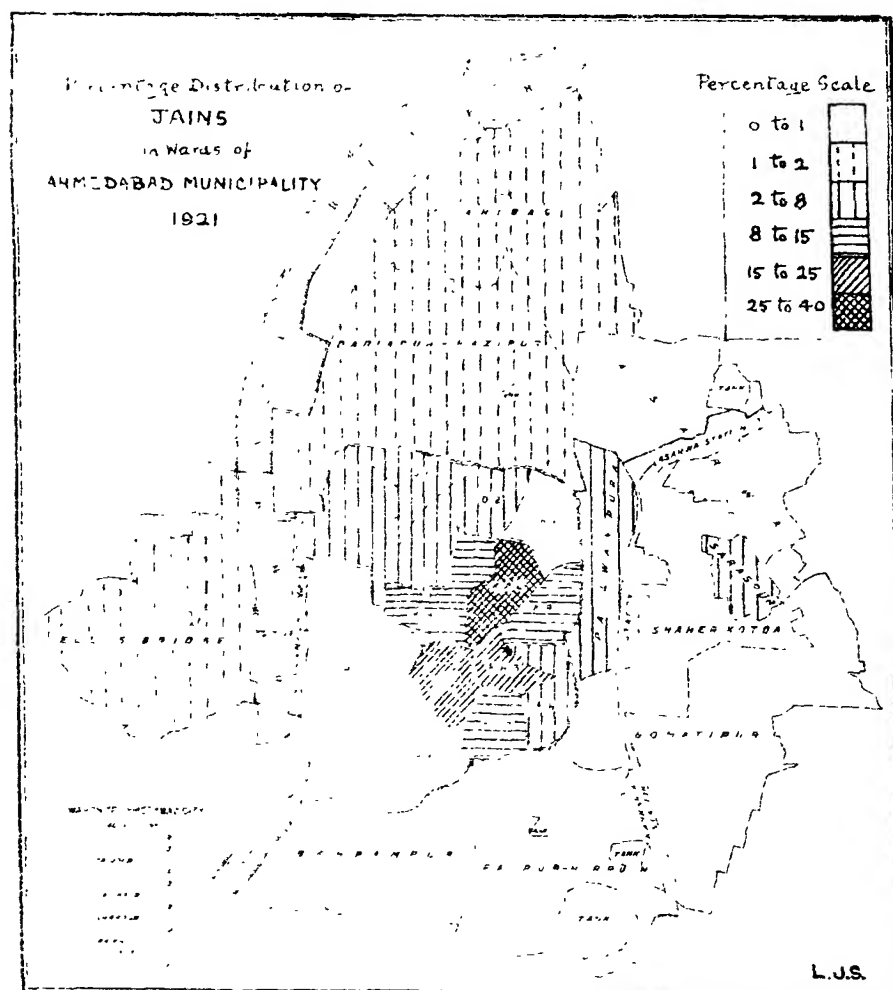
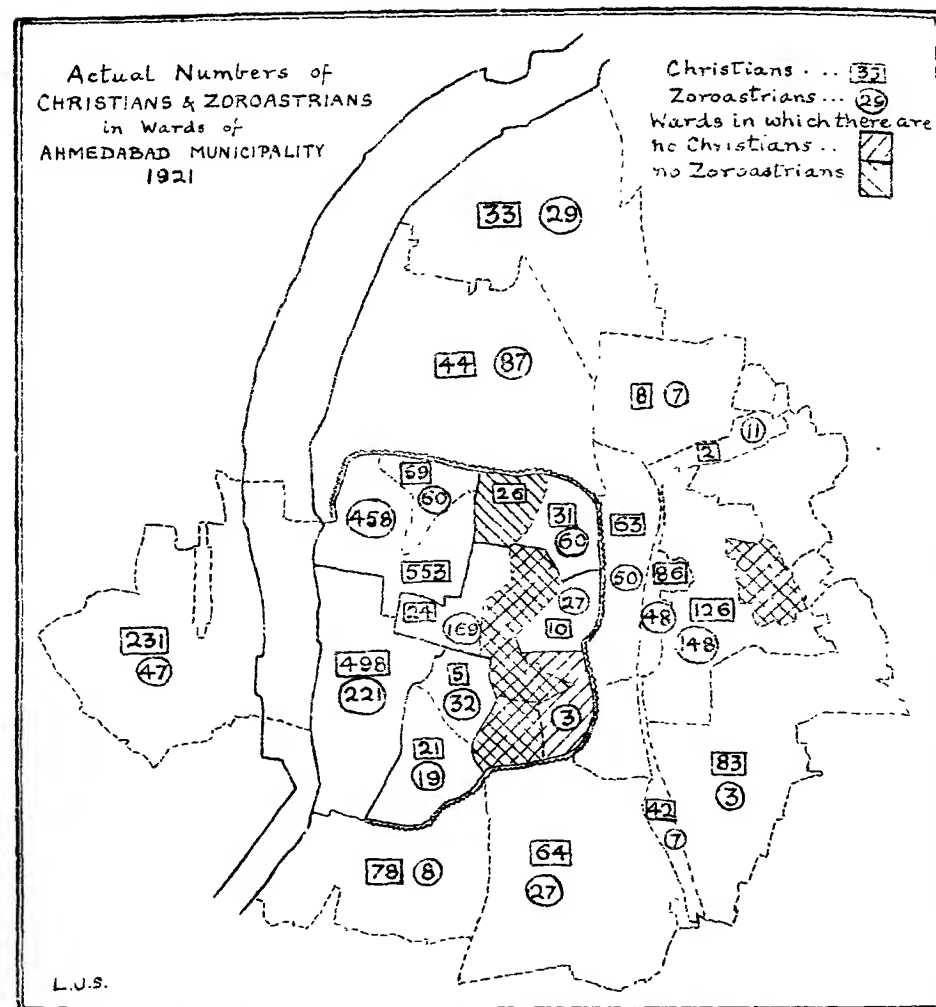
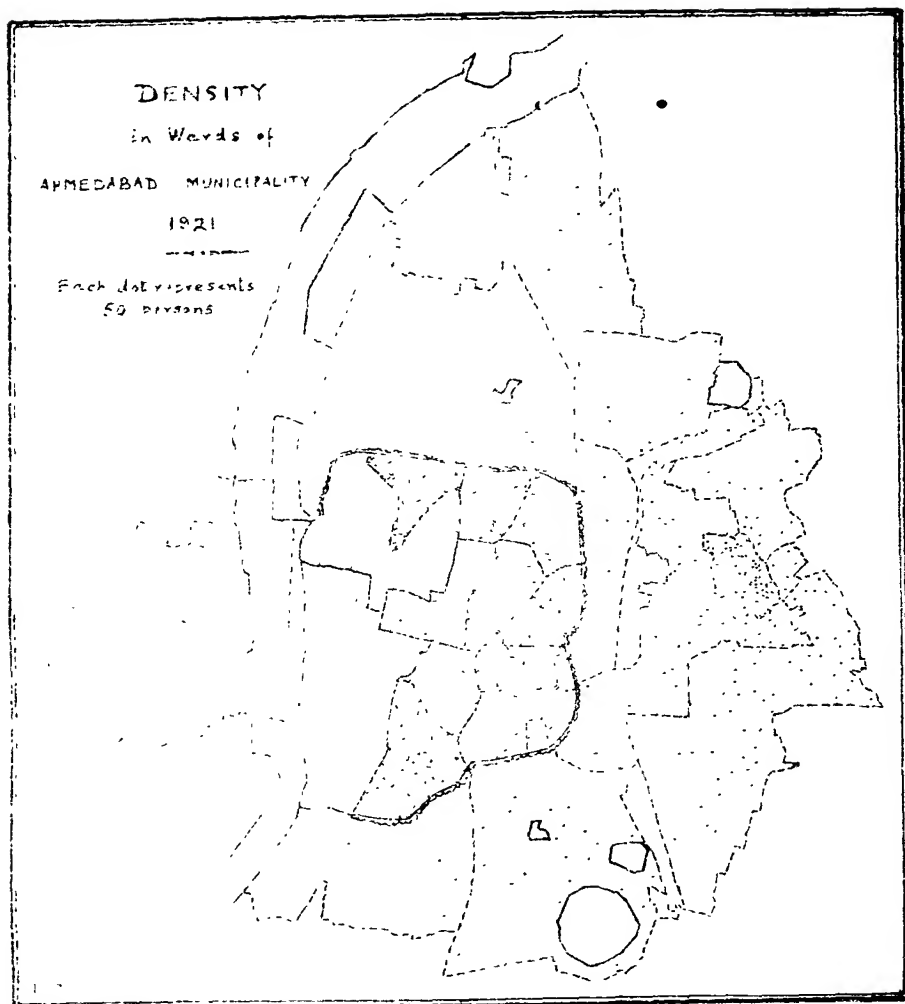
DEPENDENTS.				ACTUAL WORKERS.			
Age.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Age.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
Infant	20			14	5		
1	37			15	31	15	10
2	40			16	54	19	
3	36			17	35	5	5
4	33			18	87	27	10
5	40			19	39	8	7
6	24			20	290	82	6
7	21			21	22	10	
8	14			22	140	15	6
9	41			23	53	9	2
10	58			24	32	7	
11	38			25	435	68	1
12	58			26	25	9	
13	40			27	33	9	3
				28	116	11	1
				29	25	8	2
				30	460	31	20
				31—35	186	180	16
				36—40	181	11	15
				41—50	63	25	40
				51 & over	1	3	11
					2,293	546	156

Table V.—Distribution of 1,000 Females by age periods for (i) Prostitutes and (ii) the General Female Population, Bombay City, 1921.

Age period.	Number per 1,000	
	Prostitutes.	General Population.
0—4	47	84
5—9	48	104
10—14	56	90
15—19	98	99
20—24	186	143
25—29	213	135
30—34	252	141
35—39	10	39
40—44	50	60
45—49	10	50
50—54	20	25
55—59	10	25
Over 59		5
Summary—		
0—14	151	278
15—19	98	99
20—24	186	143
25—34	465	276
35 & over	100	204

Table VI.—Literacy among Prostitutes, actual workers ages 14 and upwards Bombay City, 1921 (according to Country of Birth).

Country of Birth.	Total.	Literate.	Illiterate.
British India ...	2,398	255	2,143
Goa ...	510	20	490
Arabia, Turkey in Asia and Egypt.	30		30
China and Japan ...	50	3	47
Europe ...	7	7	
Total ...	2,995	285	2,710



CHAPTER III.—AHMEDABAD POPULATION.

SECTION 1.—AREA INCLUDED.

170. Ahmedabad, as a Census City, includes the Municipality and the Cantonment. It is open to question whether at future Censuses Sabarmati ought not also to be included. That important Railway Junction and Settlement, is really part of the city in the widest sense, and the Railway workmen go to and from Ahmedabad daily. It is separated from the Shahibag Pura Ward by the river, which is bridged by the two Railways and has a well-established ford. A little way from the Railway area, and further down the right bank of the river, comes the great Sabarmati Jail. A road connects the Ellis Bridge Pura with the Sabarmati Jail area, and along this road buildings are beginning to spring up. Sooner or later the Railway Settlement, the Jail and the road from Ellis Bridge will have to be included in the City.

171. The maps in this Chapter are for the Municipal area only, and do not include the Cantonment, which lies to the East of the Shahibag Pura Ward. The Municipal area is divided for convenience into the City proper, *i.e.*, the old City within the wall, and the Puras, which are the modern extensions of the City outside it.

172. In the hey-day Ahmedabad's greatness, under the Musalman dynasty, the palaces of the nobles stretched out southwest from the present Ellis Bridge to Sarkhej; and some centuries later Sarkhej was an important centre of indigo planting. But its glories are departed, and it could no longer be claimed as part of the suburban area.

SECTION 2.—POPULATION AND DENSITY.

173. The comparative growth of Ahmedabad City is demonstrated in the Table on page 4, and in the diagram of the Logs of the population of Cities, facing page 3. Its growth has been somewhat steadier than that of any other City, being never interrupted by any severe epidemic of plague.

174. The Map showing Density by means of dots gives a good impression of the distribution of the population within the City walls, where there are few open spaces, and those small. But in the Puras the population is not spread evenly over the whole area, but is definitely aggregated into settlements, sometimes, as in Asarva and Gomtipur, representing old villages absorbed into the Municipal area, just as Islington, Hounslow, Hampstead and many other villages, when first absorbed into Greater London, retained their village appearance for some generations.

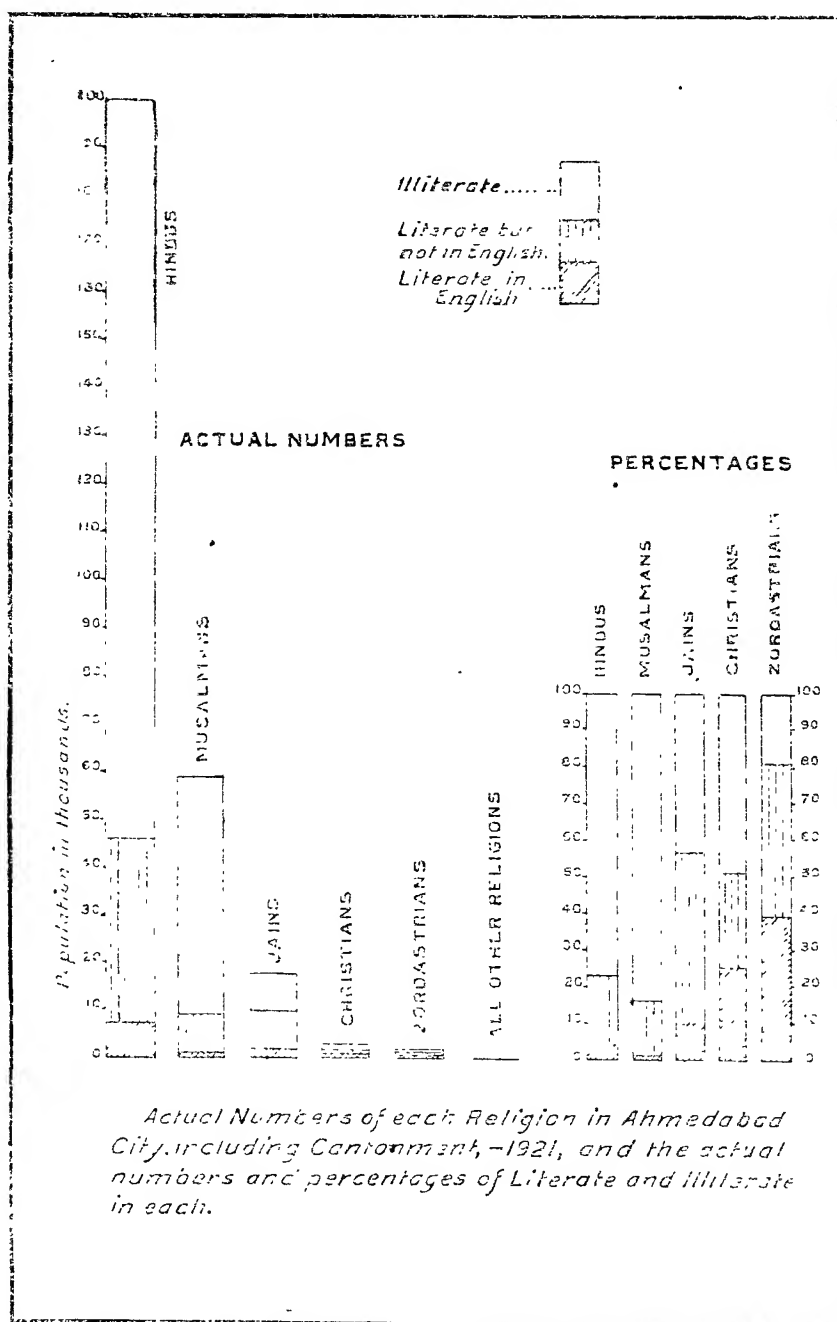
175. The statistics of "houses" in City Table I should not be used without referring first to the discussion of Housing Statistics in Chapter VII of this Report. The information there given, and the Housing Tables to which it refers, are a more reliable guide to buildings, house accommodation and tenements than the figures in City Table I, which are liable to misinterpretation, if used or quoted in their crude form.

SECTION 3.—RELIGIONS.

176. In City Table III, and in the other three maps, the distribution by religions is shown.* The Jains, who constitute an important element in the City, and by their wealth assume a power which their numbers do not warrant, are mainly confined to certain areas within the City walls. It will be seen that in those Wards in which Jains constitute an important element Musalmans, Christians and Zoroastrians tend to be absent. Conversely, where Musalmans, Christians and Zoroastrians are numerous, *e. g.*, Raikhad, Jamalpur No. 1 and and Dariapur No. 1, Jains tend to be absent.

*The percentages shown on the two lower maps, for Jains and Musulmans are percentages of the population of the individual religion in any Ward to the Total population of that Ward.

177. The actual numbers in each religion in the City (including Cantonment) as well as the actual numbers and percentages of literates in each, are shown in the annexed diagram.



178. The actual percentages distribution by religion is as follows:—

	Hindu.	Muslim.	Jain.	Zoroastrian.	Christian.	Other.
Whole City ...	72.5	19.6	0.8	0.6	0.9	0.1
Municipality ...	72.7	19.6	6.4	6.6	0.8	0.1
Cantonment ...	70.3	20.3	0.9	0.2	8.7	...

The corresponding figures for 1911 for the whole city were—

70.2	20.9	7.4	0.7	0.6	0.1
------	------	-----	-----	-----	-----

Here, therefore, as in Bombay, the additions to the City population have been predominantly Hindu. The actual numbers added or lost to each religion in the decade, together with the percentages of each addition to the total gross addition are—

+46,194	+8,546	+1,226	+136	+1,181	—53
80.6	14.9	2.1	0.3	2.1	...

and the percentages borne by the additions or losses in each religion separately to the total of that religion in 1911 are—

+30.3	+18.8	+7.6	+1.0	+96.8	—0.0
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The exceptionally high proportionate increase in Christians is partly due to the presence of a small body of British troops in the Cantonment at this Census. Nevertheless in the Municipal area alone the Christian figure increases from 1,190 to 2,124, an increase of 78·5 per cent.

SECTION 4.—AGE, SEX AND CIVIL CONDITION.

179. The age distribution of the population has already been given on page 23, and is also illustrated in the diagram facing that page. The age distribution by sexes is given below, together with that of the whole Presidency for comparison:—

Age Groups.	Whole Presidency.			Ahmedabad C ty.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
0-5	127	119	134	103	92	117
5-10	151	150	154	109	101	114
10-15	116	124	108	104	110	96
15-20	72	74	70	90	94	85
20-25	80	76	84	109	112	107
25-30	92	93	91	109	115	102
30-35	88	90	87	105	108	100
35-40	64	68	59	66	71	60
40-45	62	62	64	74	76	73
45-50	37	39	35	31	31	31
50-55	44	43	45	48	44	54
55-60	17	18	16	13	13	13
60-65	28	25	30	24	20	30
65-70	8	7	8	5	5	6
70 and over.	14	12	15	10	8	12

180. The above age distributions are much as would be expected in a manufacturing city.

181. In the sex distributions shown in the margin the recent rapid industrialisation of the City is clearly brought out. There is now an excessive disproportion of Males. In this part of Gujarat the normal ratio is about 905 females to every 1,000 males. For comparison of Ahmedabad with other Cities and Towns in the Presidency, reference is invited to Subsidiary Table No. 42 at the end of Chapter II of the General Report, and to the diagram there given. Women exceed males in the highest age groups, and are almost equal in the lowest group. In the middle groups the proportion is about 65-70 females for every 100 males.

Number of Females per 1,000 Males, Ahmedabad City, 1881 to 1921—		
1881	...	1,010
1891	...	937
1901	...	919
1911	...	848
1921	..	765

SECTION 5.—LITERACY.

182. Literacy is always better in Cities and towns than in villages. It is therefore not suprising to find that the city is a good deal ahead of the villages in the same region, as the marginal figures show. It is mainly a question of facilities. In towns schools are numerous and near at hand, in villages few and remote.

Number per mille who were Literate in 1921—		
	Males	Females.
Ahmedabad City	342	111
British Districts of Gujarat.	223	42

183. Of the individual religions in the City it will be seen from the preceding diagram that,—excluding the Zoroastrians, and Christians, and taking only the indigenous religions,—the Jains are a good deal the best educated, and the Musalmans the worst. This peculiarity, which is common to the whole of the region, is a matter not so much of religion as of social standing. The Jains are well-to-do traders. In the Karnatak, where the Jains are largely cultivators of the Chaturth caste, the ratio of literates is quite low. There is nothing in the Jain religion itself, at any rate in its modern, Semi-Hindu form, which gives an impetus to education.

SECTION 6.—BIRTH-PLACE.

184. In the matter of birth-place an attempt was made to differentiate between persons born in the city, and persons born in the rest of the district. But the enumerators failed to make distinction, and the idea of showing these two birth-places separately had to be abandoned. It is not impossible, as is shown by the success of the attempt in the case of Sholapur. But it can only be achieved by a really energetic and diligent staff, which at Ahmedabad was evidently lacking.

185. The principal birth-places of the population are as follows:—

*Number per 1,000 of the Ahmedabad City population, 1921,
who were born in the regions shown.*

Ahmedabad District	... 603	Surat District	... 8
Baroda State	... 128	Broach District	... 5
Rajputana	... 73	Bombay City	... 4
Kathiawar	... 54	Central Provinces, &c.	... 3
Kaira District	... 40	Punjab & Delhi	... 3
Mahi Kantha Agency	... 19	Panch Mahals	... 2
United Provinces	... 17	Elsewhere	... 26
Palanpur Agency	... 15		

Compared with Bombay, therefore, Ahmedabad is not nearly so cosmopolitan. The high proportion from the Baroda State is perfectly natural, since the large Kadi Division of that State approaches to within a few miles of the City, and there are also isolated Baroda villages within and interspersed with the Ahmedabad District itself.

An analysis of occupations of the immigrants in City Table V, Part III, shows that 29,287 Mill-hands (including workers and dependents, both sexes combined) were born in the adjacent regions of Gujarat. This is however not of much importance, especially in view of the fact that our Census "immigrant" figures are figures of birth-place, and that Indian married women usually return to their father's house for the birth of their first and often also of their subsequent children.

SECTION 7.—OCCUPATIONS AND INDUSTRIES.*

186. In Ahmedabad the distribution of the whole population into workers and dependents shows:—

	Per cent.
Workers Males	... 38
„ Females	... 8
Dependents (both sexes combined)	... 54

The proportion of dependents is therefore much higher than in Bombay, the city being less industrialised, and the cost of living less.

187. In the matter of "Partly Agriculturists" the position is even more deplorable than in Bombay, out of 104,166 male and 20,568 female workers, (excluding the few shown as Agriculturists as their main occupation) only 4 males and no females were shown as having agriculture as subsidiary occupation. The figure is of course useless, and bears no relation to actual facts. The subsidiary occupation column of the general schedule must have been entirely neglected. In other words in this one particular our system broke down. Yet many of the Enumerators and Supervisors were recommended for and got sanads for good work.

188. The number in Sub-Class XI—"Insufficiently described"—(workers and dependents, both sexes combined)—is 44,276, which is 16.2 per cent. of the total population. This is lower than the corresponding figure in Bombay, and is practically the same proportionately as the Bombay figure of 1911. Nevertheless the number seems too high. The number of Labourers unspecified is less open to objection than the numbers of Business men and clerks, which are far too high.

* In comparing this section with the corresponding section for Bombay occupations in Chapter II, care should be taken to see whether the figures in any given case are for workers only, or for workers and dependents.

189. The numbers in each of the Groups constituting this Class, and their proposed redistribution, are shown in the following table:—

Redistribution of Sub-Class XI.—Insufficiently described occupations, (workers and dependents combined), Ahmedabad City.

		184. Manufacturers, business men and contractors otherwise unspecified.	185. Cashiers, Accountants, Book-keepers, Clerks and other employees in unspecified Ginces, Warehouses and Shops.	186. Mechanics otherwise unspecified	187. Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified.
Total recorded	...	12,746	14,599	255	16,676
Sub-Class to which transferred.	I. Exploitation of animals and vegetation.	...	...	...	2,000
	III. Industry Textiles (cotton)	...	100	...	1,000
	Others	...	1,000	100	1,000
	IV. Transport	...	500	50	1,000
	V. Trade	...	9,000	...	1,000
	VII. Public Administration	...	200	...	100
	VIII. Professions and the Liberal Arts.	...	1,000	...	100
	X. Domestic Service	...	...	...	500
Total transferred	...	10,200	11,800	115	6,700
Remainder left in original Sub-Class XI	...	2,546	2,799	105	9,976

190. In the case of Textile Industries the figures recorded in the General Occupation Table and those recorded in the Industrial Tables are not so far out of alignment as in the case of Bombay.

General Occupational Table—

Industries, Textiles, Groups 25, 26, 27, which cover all cotton ginning, cleaning, pressing, spinning, sizing and weaving.

	Males.	Females.
Total Workers	... 33,074	7,753

Of these the following are specified as Home Workers:—

	Males.	Females.
Total Home Workers	... 923	546

So that, even leaving as factory workers both those specified as such and those unspecified, we get—

	Males.	Females.
	32,151	7,207
<i>Industrial Tables—</i>		
Operatives	... 34,578	9,185
Higher ranks	... 2,386	...
	<u>36,964</u>	<u>9,185</u>

Here, therefore as in Bombay, the General Occupational Table figures are too low. For Class III—Industries, we can take as follows:—

<i>Textiles, Cotton, Factory Workers, Operatives (from the Industrial Tables).</i>				43,763
<i>Do.</i>	<i>do.</i>	<i>other ranks</i>	<i>do.</i>	... 2,386
<i>Textiles, Cotton, Home Workers (from the General Occupation Table).</i>				1,469
<i>Total Workers, Cotton only</i>				... 47,618
<i>Dependents, Cotton Industries</i>				... 40,347
<i>Total supported (Cotton)</i>				... 87,965
<i>Workers (Other Industries)</i>				... 22,190
<i>Dependents (Other Industries)</i>				... 30,735
<i>Total supported (Other Industries)</i>				... 52,925
<i>Grand Total Industries</i>				... 1,40,890

The 4,300 shown in the previous Tables as transferred from Sub-Class XI are included in the above, viz., 1,200 under Textiles (Cotton) and 3,100 under Other Industries. These transferred numbers are not divisible into workers and dependents.

191. We can now distribute the whole population as follows, the figures being for both sexes combined, workers and dependents combined.

Sub-Class.	Occupation.	Numbers.	Proportion per 1,000 of the total population.
I	Pasture, Agriculture, Fishing, &c.	9,734	36
II	Mines and Minerals	11	...
III	Industries	140,890	514
IV	Transport	7,134	26
V	Trade	56,295	205
VI	Public Force (Army and Police)	3,530	13
VII	Public Administration (Government and Local)	4,554	17
VIII	Professions and the Liberal Arts	12,374	45
IX	Private Income	4,813	18
X	Domestic Service	15,873	58
XI	Insufficiently described	15,426	56
XII	Unproductive (Jails, Beggars, Prostitutes, &c.)	3,313	12
		274,007	1,000

192. The method of arriving at III, above, has already been explained. The rest are arrived at by taking the figures of the General Occupation Table and adjusting according to redistribution of Sub-Class XI, as explained above.

Sub-dividing the Industries into Cotton and others we get—

Industries, Cotton	... 87,965	321
„ Others	... 52,925	193

In other words almost one-third of the population is supported by Cotton Industries.

CHAPTER IV.—KARACHI POPULATION.

SECTION 1.—INTRODUCTORY.

193. This is the first time that any attempt has been made to give special Census statistics for Karachi, and before discussing the figures I have to advert to the complicated and difficult nature of the city of Karachi. For instance the Sketch map shows faithfully the boundary of the Municipal limits, as drawn on the maps furnished by the Chief Officer; and shows also the boundaries of the Quarters, so far as they were demarcated on those maps. Yet it will be seen that the boundary of the Gardens Quarter could not be completed, nor could the boundaries of the areas known as Keamari, Mauryapur and Shamspir be shown; while a glance at City Table I will show that the area of the last two units was reported as "unknown". There does not exist any single map of the whole Municipal area, corresponding with the magnificent maps of Bombay, or the very useful map of Ahmedabad Municipality, which were utilised for preparing the maps in Chapters II and III. To prepare even a sketch map of Karachi I had to piece together several different maps in different scales. These difficulties are all due to circumstances. Karachi is a mushroom city, ever expanding over a tract of sand, its edges submerged for extensive distances to different depths at different states of the tide. Groins are built from time to time, thus changing the shape of the submersible portions. There is a complicated Cantonment boundary in the heart of the Municipal area, a second smaller Cantonment at Manora, several outlying places like Baba and Bhit of undefined extent and only partially under Municipal control, and numerous distant patches of irregular shape and size like the Municipal Quarries. Allowances have therefore to be made. But even so there are points which indicate scope for improvement next time. Apart from the numerous omissions and mistakes found in the Schedule of all units it may be mentioned that, while careful arrangements were made in Bombay for enumeration of persons on the station platforms, and while Ahmedabad added a round 5,000 to its population by admirable platform organisation, at Karachi there seems to have been no platform enumeration at all. How far the Port arrangements resulted in a numerically complete enumeration there is no opportunity for estimating; but the figures of the units in charge of the Port Officer, and the Customs appear more satisfactory than those of units in charge of the Railway.

194. The most important preliminary next time, should be the demarcation of Census units on a single large scale map. And this map should be afterwards available for the illustration of the figures as presented in the Report and Tables. In the case of Units with extensive areas Enumerator patrols should be organised to keep an eye on the lonelier portions of the boundaries.

SECTION 2.—UNITS FOR WHICH THE FIGURES ARE PRESENTED.

195. In Bombay the City is divided into Wards, and these again into Sections. The Wards are Election Units, and the Sections Health Units. Both are well recognised and established. In Ahmedabad the city is divided into Wards, which are again well recognised and permanent divisions. In the case of Karachi the Chief Officer did not wish the figures presented by Wards but by "Quarters" which he said were recognised portions of the City. The true fact is that in some parts of the Municipal area the Quarters are well recognised, but in others not. Thus the Queens Road Quarter was ultimately divided into two after correspondence with the Chief Officer and the Office of the Government Surveyor. Another small quarter proposed by the Chief Officer was not accepted. A glance at City Table I will reveal the fact that the Quarters, as at present settled, are bad statistical divisions, because of the very wide divergence in their populations, and the fact that many of them are far too small. There is no justification for maintaining the Queens Road West Quarter, with a population of 298, as a separate Census unit unless considerable further building is anticipated. The Lyari Quarter on the other hand requires breaking up in order to arrive at smaller units with a population figure nearer the normal, which might be taken for Karachi at about 5,000—9,000 persons. Nothing more can be done for another ten years so far as the Census is concerned,

the matter being merely mentioned in order to draw attention to the apparent need for revision in the interval between this Census and the next.

SECTION 3.—BIRTHPLACE.

196. The Karachi City population is almost, if not quite as cosmopolitan as that of Bombay. The figures are given in City Table VI, Part I. The distribution of every thousand of the population by birthplace, and the ratio of females to males in each lot of immigrants are shown in the following:—

Composition of Karachi City Population, by birthplace, 1921.

Region of birth.	Proportion per 1,000 of the whole population.	Number of females per 1,000 males in the persons born in each region.
Karachi District	395	866
Cutch	110	773
Kathiawar	84	714
Other Districts of Sind	66	484
Baluchistan	65	842
Punjab and Delhi	60	256
United Provinces	46	158
Rajputana	25	484
Ratnagiri	25	372
North West Frontier Province	19	228
Districts of the Central Division	16	556
Bengal, Assam, Behar and Orissa	11	387
Europe	9	266
Districts of the Northern Division	9	434
French & Portuguese Possessions in India.	9	531
Other Asiatic Countries	5	259
Bombay Unspecified	23	...
Elsewhere	23	...

197. It had been hoped to distinguish those born in the city from those born in the rest of Karachi District, which is of very great extent. Orders were given to that effect. But the Officer in charge of the Abstraction Office not being satisfied with the numbers shown as born in the city tested the matter by turning up in the original Schedules the entries for certain individuals, whose birthplace he had previously ascertained to be Karachi City. These were found entered as simply "Karachi", which according to the orders would mean Karachi District.

The idea of showing separate figures was therefore abandoned. I doubt if it would ever be possible to get the Enumerators to make the distinction, especially where, as usually happens, the name of the District and the name of the city are the same. The standing rule is that name and District or State is to be entered, and not the name of any city or town or village. And it is always difficult to introduce into any local area a special rule which is a direct negation of the general one.

198. The Chief Officer also wanted Makran immigrants distinguished; but this was impossible because Makran is merely a vague geographical term, and is not coterminous any political division. The Makranis are mainly included under the Baluchistan figures, the Makran coast west of Karachi lying within that political unit. The large number of immigrants from Ratnagiri is remarkable. The immigrants from this one District number 5,344; and those from all other 18 Districts of the Presidency proper only 5,517. Ratnagiri is a sort of Ireland in this Presidency, *i.e.*, a country whose inhabitants take readily to immigration. Poverty is in both cases the apparent cause, though the reasons for poverty may be different. The poverty of Ratnagiri is apparently due to the Khoti system of land tenure.

199. The proportion of immigrants from Europe in Karachi is the same as in Bombay,—9 per 1,000.

SECTION 4.—RELIGION.

200. The religious composition of Karachi is wholly different from the religious composition of Sind generally. Instead of Mahomedans being in a large majority, we have a population composed as follows:—

Religion.	Number per 1,000 of the whole population of the City.
Hindu	... 464
Musalman	... 463
Christian	... 44
Zoroastrian	... 13
Sikh	... 7
Jain	... 5
Jew	... 3
Others	... 1

The regional distribution of their religions within the City is very irregular. The outlying portions are predominantly Musalman, the inner (old town) region predominantly Hindu, and the Cantonment, Sadar Bazaar region cosmopolitan. The following are the figures. The total populations of the various units are entered for reference because they vary very much, and the religious composition of a quarter like Shamspir with only 145 persons is of less interest and importance than the same for units like Lyari with 42,479 persons:—

*Religious Composition of Quarters and other Census Units,
Karachi City, 1921.*

Quarter or other Census Unit.	Total population for reference.	Number per 1,000 who are		
		Hindu.	Musalman.	Other Religion.
<i>A. Hindus in absolute majority—</i>				
Old Town	... 8,844	921	76	3
Bundar	... 2,710	916	84	...
Market	... 7,094	809	182	9
Queens Road, West	... 298	825	168	7
Ramswami	... 6,223	789	138	73
Jail	... 7,950	737	249	14
Serai	... 10,008	735	226	39
Napier	... 10,886	725	270	4
Ranchore	... 22,619	722	226	52
Rambaugh	... 8,316	671	233	96
Civil Lines	... 1,630	571	150	279
Begari Khata	... 1,605	543	417	40
Queens Road, East	... 2,059	520	190	290
<i>B. Musalmans in absolute majority—</i>				
Shamspir	... 145	14	986	...
Mauryapur	... 790	52	948	...
Baba Bhit	... 1,276	92	908	...
Lyari	... 42,479	101	893	6
Scattered Hamlets	... 8,203	207	749	44
Machi Miani	... 7,715	300	697	3
Railway Station	... 142	387	599	14
Port, Floating	... 3,363	191	595	214
Garden	... 17,265	369	588	43
Frere Town	... 3,217	321	566	113
Soldier Bazaar	... 1,474	472	514	14
<i>C. No religion in majority—</i>				
Railway Quarter	... 5,671	501	427	72
Keamar	... 8,962	496	448	56
Cantonment Civil	... 7,018	410	240	350
Preedy	... 1,247	399	113	488
Sadar Bazaar	... 10,100	316	362	322
Cantonment Military	... 7,719	288	494	218
Manora Military	... 455	297	312	391

SECTION 5.—AGE, SEX AND CIVIL CONDITION.

201. The abnormal age distribution of the city type is shown in the following Table, as well as the number of females per 100 males at each age period. The figures call for no particular comment. The Table is for the Municipal area only. In the Cantonment the number of females per 100 males is only 32, and at age period 22—25 only 14. But a Cantonment population is always highly abnormal:—

Age Distribution—Karachi Municipal Area—and proportion of the Sexes of each age period.

Age period.	Number per 1,000.			Number of females per 100 males.
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	
0-5	109	87	142	108
5-10	115	100	138	91
10-15	94	92	97	69
15-20	84	84	83	65
20-25	114	122	102	55
25-30	119	131	103	52
30-35	110	120	96	52
35-40	72	81	58	47
40-45	66	69	61	58
45-50	33	35	29	55
50-55	38	37	39	68
55-60	10	11	10	62
60-65	21	18	24	90
65-70	5	4	6	97
70 and over	10	9	12	90
Whole Population				66

202. In the matter of Civil Condition Karachi marries late. We can compare the following for Karachi and Ahmedabad:—

		Karachi Municipality.	Ahmedabad.
Total Females	...	80,126	118,635
Age 0-5 { Married	...	32	639
Age 0-5 { Widowed	...	2	30
Age 5-10 { Married	...	238	2,154
Age 5-10 { Widowed	...	23	85
Age 10-15 { Married	...	1,515	5,238
Age 10-15 { Widowed	...	45	211

The difference is partly due to the different Religious composition of the two populations, Karachi having a larger proportion of Musalmans. But this

is not the only reason. There is a definite difference of custom even in the same religion. Thus—

	Karachi Municipality.	Ahmedabad.
<i>Musalman Females, Total</i>	... 40,339	23,382
Age 0-15 { Married	... 625	1,074
Widowed	... 34	30

SECTION 6.—LITERACY.

203. As in most cities the Literacy rates are high. The Hindus are much better educated than the Musalmans—

Number per mille who are				
	Literate.		Literate in English.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
<i>Whole City</i> ...	268	88	106	31
Hindus ...	335	84	110	8
Musalmans ...	131	25	34	1
Christians ...	639	555	567	502

SECTION 7.—OCCUPATIONS AND INDUSTRIES .

204. The distribution of every 1,000 of the Population into Workers and Dependents is as follows:—

Actual Workers.		Dependents
Males.	Females.	(both Sexes combined)
451	31	518

The particular feature is of course the small number of female workers. But this is a feature common to the whole of Sind.

205. The distribution of every thousand (workers and dependents combined) by Sub-Classes is as follows:—

Sub-Class I. Pasture and Agriculture, &c.	... 54
„ II. Mines and Minerals	... 1
„ III. Industries	... 175
„ IV. Transport	... 87
„ V. Trade	... 207
„ VI. Public Force	... 64
„ VII. Public Administration	... 46
„ VIII. Professions	... 45
„ IX. Private Income	... 6
„ X. Domestic Service	... 93
„ XI. Insufficiently described	... 200
„ XII. Unproductive	... 22

*In comparing this section with the corresponding section for Bombay occupations in Chapter II, care should be taken to see whether the figures in any given case are for workers only, or for workers and dependents.

206. As regards Sub-Class XI.—Insufficiently Described Occupations the total of 200 is distributed as follows:—

Group 184. Businessmen, &c.	... 17
„ 185. Clerks, &c.	... 43
„ 186. Mechanics	... 31
„ 187. Labourers	... 109

The number of Insufficiently described Mechanics is unusually high. I do not feel that I have any satisfactory data, on which to redistribute these numbers in Sub-Class XI, as has been attempted in the cases of Bombay and Ahmedabad.

207. Beggars number 4,059, or 19 per thousand of the population. This is exclusive of Religious Mendicants. Prostitutes and Procurers number 718, or 3 per thousand, which is much the same as the proportions in Bombay. The Prostitutes alone were not separated off by special sorting, as in the case of Bombay.

208. Karachi is essentially not an Industrial City. There are only 74 Industrial Concerns coming within the scope of the Industrial Schedules, employing 7,189 Males and 267 Females. In Ahmedabad there are 115 such concerns and the employees amounted to 38,564 Males and 9,236 Females. Of these the bulk are Textile Mills. In Karachi the Textile Industries are virtually non-existent, there being only 256 Males and 39 Females, which is trivial. The remaining 67 concerns are spread over most of the common types; but the bulk are Establishments in the Metal Industries and Industries connected with construction of the Means of Transport.

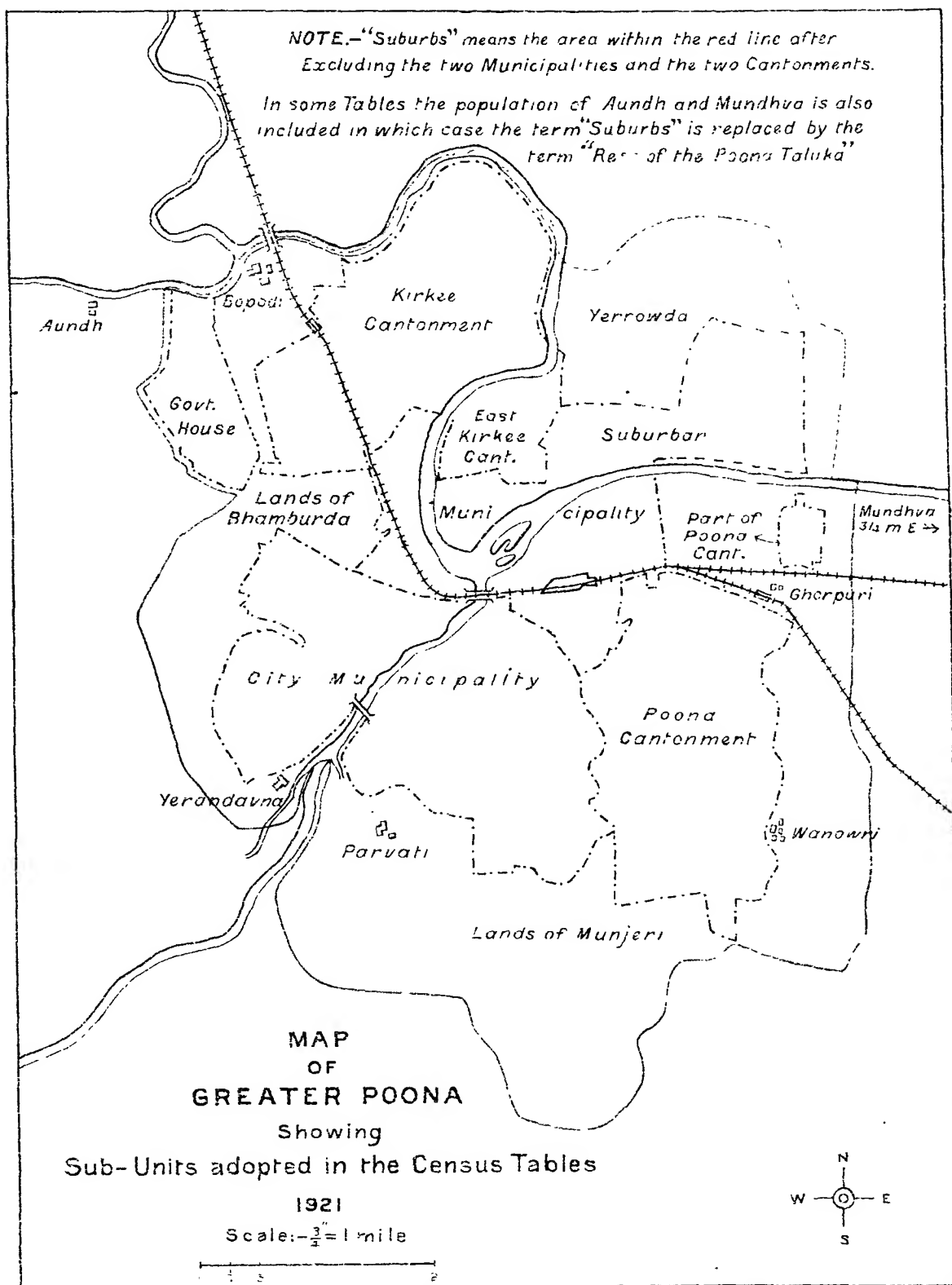
CHAPTER V.—OTHER CITIES.

209. This Chapter deals with Poona, Surat, Sholapur and Hubli.

1. POONA.

210. In the Tables the major unit taken as City of Poona this time has, at the suggestion of a recent Collector of that District, been called “Greater Poona.” This name is suitable to the circumstances. The map opposite shows the whole area of Greater Poona. It consists of the City Municipality, the Suburban Municipality, the Poona Cantonment, the Kirkee Cantonment, the Government House area and a good deal of the lands of eight or nine villages. In 1911 the only sub-units which were taken to Poona City were the two Municipalities and the Poona Cantonment. Wherever the necessity has arisen for comparing population figures with those of 1911 and earlier Censuses the latter have been adjusted so as to represent what would have been the figures had the area now taken as Greater Poona been taken in those years also. But anyone using the unadjusted Table of past Censuses must remember to make the necessary allowances. Kirkee was in 1911 given in Imperial Tables IV and V as a separate town; and the population of Government House may have been treated as part of the village of Aundh; or, if the enumeration was carried out by the Military (as in Bombay), then it will have gone into Kirkee Cantonment.

211. Up to 1911 Poona City was situated in the middle of the Haveli Taluka. But during the decennium a new Taluka has been founded and named the Poona Taluka. This comprises the whole area within the red line of the map *plus* the villages of Aundh and Mundhva. It would have been simpler if the actual boundary of the Taluka could have been taken throughout as the boundary of Greater Poona. But the villages of Mundhva and Aundh lie too far out for justifiable inclusion. Unfortunately, owing to the late date at which it was decided to enlarge the scope of the term Poona City for Census purposes, some of the Tables were not able to be prepared except so as to include the two villages mentioned. This is explained by a note on the map. And each Table is provided with a sub-title which makes its scope clear.



Govt. Photodupl. Office, Poona, 1922

212. It must not be supposed that the area within the red line, but outside the limits of any Municipality or Cantonment is land of an agricultural or pastoral character. On the contrary many of the most important urban institutions lie in Bhamburda or Yerrowda, for instance the Agricultural College, the Central Prison, the Reformatory, the Lunatic Asylum, and many modern bungalows of Administrative Departments. Poona changes so quickly that maps become out of date before they are printed. There is no up to date map available at time of writing, the maps issued in 1921 being either excessively inaccurate or singularly incomplete. For this reason no topographical features were inserted in the present map except the rivers, and the Railways.

213. The arrangement adopted for the Tables treats all the area outside the Cantonments and Municipalities as one unit, under the name of suburbs. The details of these suburbs is as follows :—

Sub-Unit.	Population.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Parvati (Parbatti) ...	632	358	274
Bhamburda ...	1,131	616	515
1. Agricultural College ...	545	331	214
2. Remainder ...	586	285	301
Munjeri ...	477	228	249
Vanavdi (Wanowri) ...	2,153	1,088	1,065
Bopodi ...	2,997	1,564	1,433
Ghorpadi (Ghorpuri) ...	3,386	1,656	1,730
Yerrowda ...	4,668	3,502	1,166
1. Reformatory ...	243	206	37
2. Lunatic Asylum ...	1,016	600	416
3. Central Jail ...	2,975	2,477	498
4. Remainder ...	434	219	215
Aundh (Government House only) ...	337	175	162
Yerandavne ...	472	248	224
Total ...	16,253	9,435	6,818

214. In the matter of birth place Poona is not a particularly cosmopolitan place. Poona City Municipality is essentially old-fashioned, and is simply the hub of Maharashtra. Few strangers from other parts of India will be found there. In the Cantonments and Suburban Municipality on the contrary conditions are more mixed, and the Madras or Pathan is a common feature. The Birth place figures were however tabulated for the City as a whole; and the influence of the old-fashioned City Municipal area, which alone contributes considerably more than half the total population of Greater Poona, gives an impression of homogeneity in the population which a casual visitor to the Cantonment bazar might consider misleading. The following is the distribution :—

Distribution of every 1,000 of the Population of Greater Poona by Birth place, 1921.

Poona District ...	603	Central Provinces and Berar ...	11
Ahmednagar District ...	70	Bhor State ...	8
Satara District ...	42	Kolaba District ...	8
Hyderabad, Deccan ...	29	Kolhapur ...	6
Sholapur District ...	26	Khandesh ...	6
Ratnagiri District ...	22	French and Portuguese Posses-	6
Madras ...	18	sions in India.	
North India ...	18	United Provinces ...	5
Europe ...	17	Southern Mahratta Country States.	5
Districts of the N. D. ...	15	Other Countries in Asia ...	3
Districts of the Karna-	14	Sind ...	3
tak.		Gujarat States ...	3
Bombay City ...	13	Elsewhere (including Bombay	39
		Unspecified).	

215. In the matter of *Age and Sex*, the different units of Greater Poona show the peculiarities which would have been expected, having regard to the character of each. The marginal figures show the number of females per 1,000 males in each unit. Kirkee is the most abnormal unit.

Number of females per 1,000 males in units of Greater Poona, 1921.	
City Municipality	... 912
Suburban Municipality	... 748
Poona Cantonment	... 723
Kirkee Cantonment	... 501
Rest of Poona Taluka	... 779

216. The age distribution for the City Municipality has been given on p. 23. It is not exceptionally urban in character. The age distribution of the Cantonments is highly abnormal, and still more the sex compositions of each five-year group. Thus in Kirkee Cantonment in the lowest group, ages 0-5, females slightly preponderate, the figures being—Males 759, Females 783. Afterwards Males take the lead, and in age group 20-25 the figures are—males 3,037, Females 118. These conditions are inevitable in a Cantonment; and it was not thought worth while to take out Tables to illustrate the matter in greater detail. The only point of importance is to note the futility of calculating crude death-rates in a population of this kind. This is of course well known; and the department of Public Health work on “corrected” death rates. But in the case of a small unit like Kirkee Cantonment, with its abnormal population, the proportions in the different age periods must change rapidly; and a correction factor based on one Census may be quite wrong three years afterwards. Any increase or decrease of Military establishment would upset the proportions completely; or, again, the replacement of an Indian Regiment by an English or *vice versa*, would, owing to the different specific death-rates of the two races, render the correction factor incorrect.

217. The distribution of the population of Greater Poona (Workers and Dependents combined) by occupations shows:—

Occupational Sub-Class.	Per 1,000.
I. Pasture and Agriculture	... 83
II. Mines and Minerals	... 3
III. Industry	... 194
IV. Transport	... 58
V. Trade	... 146
VI. Public Force	... 64 (Army 48, Police 16.)
VII. Public Administration	... 73
VIII. Professions	... 52
IX. Private Income	... 31
X. Domestic Service	... 66
XI. Insufficiently described	... 204
XII. Unproductive	... 26

The proportion of Insufficiently described (20 per cent) is very high. But of course the number of General Labourers in a place of the type of Poona is no doubt genuinely large. Industries show no great bias towards any one type. Textiles are unimportant, and workers in Wood, Metals, Precious Metals, Building, Tailoring, and many others show considerable figures. Beggars (excluding Religious Mendicants) number 2,432, or 11 per 1,000 and Procurers and Prostitutes 373, or 1·7 per 1,000.

218. In the Industrial Tables the only important items are the Arsenal and Ammunition Factory, which employ 4,789 Males and 42 Females.

2. SHOLAPUR.

219. The Census City of Sholapur includes the Municipality and some portions of Sholapur Revenue Village lands not falling within the Municipal boundary.

220. The Census was admirably conducted by the Chief Officer Mr. S. V. Bapat. If I were asked to pick out the individual whose Census work was the

best in the Presidency I think I should name this gentleman. Consequently the figures in all Sholapur Tables can be regarded with the greatest confidence as absolutely trustworthy.

221. The City has gone through some vicissitudes in the way of ups and downs of population. The extraordinary drop in 1911 was due to the absence of people on account of plague. The population at the 1901 Census has been 75,288, and the 1911 Census showed a reduction to 61,345. In the 1911 report it is mentioned that at a subsequent Municipal Census taken after plague had subsided the population came out at over 89,000. The writer proceeded—"It is probable that even this figure is a conservative estimate, many not having by then returned to their homes." The increase to 119,581 at this Census is therefore not so remarkable as would on the surface appear. The City is highly industrialised and contains a number of flourishing Cotton Mills.

222. In the matter of Birth-place Sholapur is not at all cosmopolitan, in spite of its industrialised conditions. It draws its labour from the immediate neighbourhood. In the distribution below the number of persons born in Hyderabad territory will cause no surprise if the position of Sholapur on the map is borne in mind.

Distribution of every 1,000 persons in Sholapur by birth-place, 1921.

Sholapur City	...	292
Sholapur, Rest of District	...	344
		636
Hyderabad Deccan	...	249
Karnatak Districts	...	23
Akalkot State	...	21
Southern Mahratta Country States	...	14
Poona District	...	11
Ahmednagar District	...	7
Satara District	...	5
Madras Presidency	...	4
Bombay City	...	3
Elsewhere	...	27

223. The composition of the population by religion is as shown below :—

Distribution of every 1,000 persons by Religion, Sholapur Municipality, 1921.

Hindu	...	786
Musalman	...	184
Christian	...	16
Jain	...	11
Zoroastrian	...	3

224. The distribution of the Municipal area by Occupations (workers and dependents combined) is as follows :—

Occupational Sub-Class.	Per 1,000.
I. Pasture and Agriculture	... 65
III. Industry	... 546
IV. Transport	... 37
V. Trade	... 110
VI. Public Force	... 14
VII. Public Administration	... 20
VIII. Professions	... 26
IX. Private Income	... 8
X. Domestic Service	... 15
XI. Insufficiently Described	... 145
XII. Unproductive	... 14

In the Sub-Class XI—Insufficiently Described—There are about as many unassigned clerks as unassigned labourers—This is of course impossible, and

indicates that persons in clerical occupations have failed to specify the details. Probably some of them should be in VII—Public Administrations. But the very large number (8,007) cannot all belong there. Most will probably belong to Industry and Trade.

225. Sholapur is obviously excessively industrialised. In fact it might be described as a Milling community superimposed on an old Indian Town. Out of 62,223 in III—Industries no less than 50,261 come under Order 6—Textiles. The bulk of these figures are factory workers; but 9,872 are specified as supported by Weaving—Home Workers (Actual Workers, Males 1,445, Females 4,102, Dependents 4,325).

226. The number of actual workers specifically shown as Factory Workers in Groups 26 and 27—Cotton Spinning and Cotton Sizing and Weaving is Males 13,821, Females 4,696. And the number shown in the Industrial Tables as Employees of Spinning and Weaving Mills is Males 14,225, Females 4,698. The approximation of the two sets of figures is satisfactory. Industries other than the Spinning and Weaving Mills are almost negligible in the Industrial Tables. There is therefore no intermediate type of establishment between the great Mills and the ordinary home worker with less than 10 Employees.

3. SURAT.

227. The area taken as "City" in the case of Surat is the Municipality pure and simple. There are suburbanised areas outside the boundary, especially along the Dumas Road. But these are partly within Sachin State limits. The city is not expanding appreciably, and is possessed of little industrial character. Mills started at Surat have never thriven. The Municipal boundary runs through the Station Yard, which made the Census of the Railway premises inconvenient. There is a small bunder for river and shallow draught sea-going boats along the Tapti bank, which is within the Municipal limits.

228. The City has not appreciably increased in size since 1872; and in the absence of industrialisation, which it has so far fortunately escaped, rapid increase is improbable. The days of Surat's greatness have long passed away, and the silting up of the Tapti and the increased draught of modern vessels have reduced one of the famous Indian Ports to the position of a small creek.

229. In City Table I population figures are given by Wards; but this is of local interest only, and does not demand discussion.

230. In Birth-place Surat is very homogeneous. There is nothing to attract strangers. The following is the distribution:—

Distribution of every 1,000 persons by Birth-place, Surat City, 1921.

Surat District	...	813
Kathiawar	...	46
Baroda	...	34
Ahmedabad District	...	13
Broach District	...	13
Kaira District	...	13
United Provinces	...	11
Districts of the C. D.	...	9
Districts of the S. D.	...	8
Bombay City	...	8
Rajputana	...	6
Surat Agency	...	5
Central Provinces and Berar	...	4
Cambay	...	3
Elsewhere	...	14

231. The distribution of every 1,000 persons by religion is as follows:—

Hindus	... 713	Jains	... 33
Musalmanas	... 206	Christians	... 4
Zoroastrians	... 42	Others	... 2

232. The age distribution already given on p. 23 differs very little from the normal, and emphasises the essentially non-industrial character of the city. The number of females per 1,000 males is 903.

233. The proportions of Literates is as follows:—

	Number of Literates per 1,000	
	Males.	Females.
Whole City	... 469	161
Hindus	... 460	116
Musalmanas	... 390	131
Jains	... 783	415
Zoroastrians	... 792	723

234. The distribution of the Surat population by Occupations (workers and dependents combined) is as follows:—

Occupational Sub-class.	Per 1,000
I. Pasture and Agriculture	... 28
III. Industry	... 467
IV. Transport	... 24
V. Trade	... 202
VI. Public Force	... 7
VII. Public Administration	... 21
VIII. Professions	... 72
IX. Private Income	... 17
X. Domestic Service	... 53
XI. Insufficiently Described	... 96
XII. Unproductive	... 13

The Sub Class XI—Insufficiently Described—is divided between “Business Men, &c.” 12,746, “Clerks, &c.” 14,599, and “Labourers” 16,676. The large numbers in the two first of these Groups indicates bad enumeration. The numbers under Industries may cause some surprise. But though the mills are unimportant Surat is an important centre for certain home industries. Cotton Weavers 6,961; Silk Weavers, 7,317; Lace Makers 2,131; “Weavers Unspecified” 1,878; Carpenters 2,667; Tailors, &c. 8,999; Bricklayers and Masons 2,160; and Jewellers 3,962. These figures are for Workers and Dependents combined. Male Workers exceed Female workers in all these Industrial Occupations, and there is no case like that of the Hand-loom weavers of Sholapur, in which Female workers preponderate. Surat is really an interesting type of the old-world manufacturing Indian City, almost unaffected by modern power machines.

4. HUBLI.

235. The Census City of Hubli includes the Municipal area, and a certain portion (not the whole) of each of the villages of Ahobalapur, Madi-naikan Arlikatti, Keshvapur, Mariyan Timsagar, and Bammapur. The Municipal area of Hubli embraces new Hubli and Old Hubli, the former being a modern Commercial and Industrial Town, and the latter an old-fashioned village. There is an interval (variously covered with buildings) between the two. The suburbs consist mainly of the Railway area, to the extent to which that is outside the Municipality. The suburban belt will gradually extend, and care will have to be exercised at the next Census to see where the City boundary for Census purposes should come.

236. The religious composition of the population is as follows:—

Number per 1,000 in each Religion, Whole City.

Hindu 676, Musalman 258, Christian 44, Jain 19, Others 3.

237. The birth-place distribution is as follows:—

*Number per 1,000 returned from different Birth-places,
Hubli Municipal Area.*

Dharwar District	... 785
Belgaum District	... 31
Bijapur District	.. 27
Kanara District	... 12
Central Division	... 11
Madras Presidency	... 38
Hyderabad State	... 31
Mysore State	... 10
Southern Mahratta Country States	... 17
Elsewhere	... 38

238. In Age and Sex distribution the population is only slightly abnormal. There are 907 Females per 1,000 Males, the corresponding figure for the Dharwar District as a whole being 962. The Age distribution has already been shown in Chapter II of this Volume. The Sexes in the middle age periods, and the excess of males over females in those periods are only of a moderately industrialised type.

239. The distribution by Occupation (workers and dependents combined) shown in the General Occupation Table (Municipality only) is:—

Occupational Sub-class.	Per 1,000
I. Pasture and Agriculture	... 137
III. Industry	... 385
IV. Transport	... 128
V. Trade	... 200
VI. Public Force (Police)	... 10
VII. Public Administration	... 24
VIII. Professions	... 36
IX. Private Income	... 6
X. Domestic Service	... 13
XI. Insufficiently Described	... 38
XII. Unproductive	... 23

The number which had to be put in Sub-Class XI is quite satisfactory being only 4 per cent. of the population.

240. The Chief Industry is Textiles. The figures in the General Occupation Table show:—

Group 25.—Cotton, Ginning, Cleaning and Pressing.

	Workers		Dependents.
	Males.	Females.	
(a) Home workers	... 0	24	13
(b) Factory workers	... 1,472	856	1,944

Group 26.—Cotton Spinning.

(a) Home workers	... 23	316	132
(b) Factory workers	... 8	2	26
(c) Unspecified	... 0	277	718

Group 27.—Cotton Sizing and Weaving.

(a) Home workers	... 1,479	902	2,456
(b) Factory workers	... 1	13	58
(c) Unspecified	... 1,710	146	1,677

241. When we compare these figures with those in the Industrial Table we find the latter unsatisfactory.

	Employees	
	Males.	Females.
<i>Ginning Factories</i>	... 85	38
<i>Ginning and Pressing Factories</i>	... 89	...
<i>Cotton Presses</i>	... 151	70
<i>Spinning and Weaving Mills</i>	... 1,638	453
<i>Weaving Mills</i>	... 83	17

It therefore seems either (1) that the Cotton Pressing Factories in Hubli sent in incomplete Schedules for the Industrial Census, or (2) that the Enumerators in the ordinary Census used the term "Factory Workers" in a sense laxer than the criterion of 10 Employees adopted for the Industrial Census. The former is the more probable. In this City the General Census seems to have been more satisfactory.*

242. The only other important Industry at Hubli is the Railway Workshops, which sent in a return of 3,260 Employees (males only). These in the General Occupational Table will be found in Group 118, Railway Employees, which is correct.

* There is however a third possibility, namely that the Pressing factories were not working in March, and that the persons returned under Group 25 of the General Occupation Table were unemployed when the Industrial Schedules were filled up. These were to be filled not for a definite date as in the case of the General Census, but for any normal working day during March 1921.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER V OF THE REPORT ON THE CITIES OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

The statistics regarding the population of various cities of the world, given above in Chapter I, was taken from Whitaker's Almanack for 1921. Since Chapter I was printed off a complete up-to-date list of the world's cities and towns has been received from the Census Commissioner. As this may be of some interest it is reprinted herewith *in extenso*.

POPULATION OF CITIES IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES.

Cities.	Population.	Cities.	Population.
ENGLAND AND WALES, 1921.		NORWAY, 1920 (ESTIMATED).	
Greater London ...	7,476,168	Kristiania ...	263,713
<i>Administrative Country of</i> <i>London and City of London.</i>	4,483,249	SWEDEN, 1919 (ESTIMATED).	
<i>Outer Ring</i> ...	2,992,919	Stockholm ...	415,201
Birmingham ...	919,438	Goteborg ...	200,577
Liverpool ...	803,118	Malmö ...	111,931
Manchester ...	730,551	DENMARK, 1916.	
Sheffield ...	490,724	Copenhagen (with suburbs)...	605,772
Leeds ...	458,320	GERMANY, 1919.	
Bristol ...	377,061	Berlin ...	1,902,509
West Ham ...	300,905	Hamburg ...	985,779
Kingston-upon-Hull ...	287,013	Cologne ...	633,904
Bradford ...	285,979	Munich ...	630,711
Newcastle-upon-Tyne ...	274,955	Leipzig ...	604,380
Nottingham ...	262,658	Dresden ...	529,326
Portsmouth ...	247,343	Breslau ...	528,260
Stoke-on-Trent ...	240,440	Essen ...	439,257
Leicester ...	234,190	Frankfort-on-Main ...	433,002
Salford ...	234,150	Dusseldorf ...	407,338
Plymouth ...	209,857	Nurnberg ...	352,675
Cardiff ...	200,262	Charlottenburg ...	322,766
Croydon ...	190,877	Hanover ...	310,431
Bolton ...	178,678	Stuttgart ...	309,197
Willesden ...	165,669	Chemnitz ...	303,775
Rhondda ...	162,729	Dortmund ...	295,026
Southampton ...	160,997	Magdeburg ...	285,856
Sunderland ...	159,100	Neukolln ...	262,127
Swansea ...	157,561	Konigsberg ...	260,895
Birkenhead ...	145,592	Bremen ...	257,923
Oldham ...	145,001	Duisburg ...	244,302
Brighton ...	142,427	Stettin ...	232,726
Middlesbrough ...	131,103	Mannheim ...	229,576
Derby ...	129,836	Kiel ...	205,330
Coventry ...	128,205	Halle-on-Saale ...	182,326
Blackburn ...	126,630	Berlin-Schoeneberg ...	175,082
Gateshead ...	124,514	Altona ...	168,729
Stockport ...	123,315	Gelsenkirchen ...	168,557
Norwich ...	120,653	Cassel ...	162,391
Preston ...	117,426	Elberfeld ...	157,218
South Shields ...	116,667	Barmen ...	156,326
Huddersfield ...	110,120	Augsburg ...	154,555
Burnley ...	103,175	Aachen ...	145,748
SCOTLAND, 1919 (ESTIMATED).		Berlin-Lichtenberg ...	141,643
Glasgow ...	1,113,454	Bochum ...	142,760
Edinburgh ...	338,060	Brunswick ...	139,539
Dundee ...	185,388	Berlin-Wilmersdorf ...	139,406
Aberdeen ...	167,146	Karlsruhe ...	135,952
IRELAND, 1919 (ESTIMATED).		Erfurt ...	129,646
Dublin ...	399,000	Mulheim-on-Ruhr ...	127,027
Belfast ...	393,000	Crefeld ...	124,325

POPULATION OF CITIES IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES—*contd.*

Cities.	Population.	Cities.	Population.
GERMANY, 1919— <i>contd.</i>		RUSSIA (ESTIMATED).	
Mainz	107,930	Petrograd (1915)	2,318,645
Plauen	104,918	Moscow (1919)	1,121,000
FRANCE, 1911.		Odessa (1912)	631,040
Paris	2,888,110	Kiev (1913)	610,190
Marseille	550,619	Riga (1913)	569,100
Lyon	523,796	Kharkov (1913)	258,360
Bordeaux	261,678	Saratov (1913)	235,500
Lille	217,807	Yekaterinoslav (1912)	220,100
Strasbourg	178,891	Rostov-on-Don (1913)	204,725
Nantes	170,535	Kazan (1913)	195,300
Toulouse	149,576	Astrakhan (1913)	163,800
St. Etienne	148,656	Tula (1913)	140,620
Nice	142,940	Kishinev (1913)	128,700
Le Havre	136,159	TURKEY IN EUROPE (ESTIMATED).	
Rouen	124,987	Constantinople	1,000,000
Roubaix	122,723	SPAIN, 1918 (ESTIMATED).	
Nancy	119,949	Madrid	652,157
Reims	115,178	Barcelona	618,766
Toulon	104,582	Valencia	245,162
BELGIUM, 1919 (ESTIMATED).		Sevilla	164,046
Brussels (including suburbs).	685,268	Malaga	141,046
Antwerp	322,857	Murcia	133,335
Liège	166,697	Zaragoza	124,998
Ghent	165,655	PORTUGAL, 1911.	
NETHERLANDS, (THE) 1919.		Lisbon	435,359
Amsterdam	647,120	Oporto	194,009
Rotterdam	506,067	ITALY, 1915 (ESTIMATED).	
The Hague	359,610	Napoli	697,917
Utrecht	138,334	Milano	663,059
AUSTRIA, 1920.		Roma	590,960
Vienna	1,842,005	Torino	451,994
Graz	157,032	Palermo	345,891
HUNGARY, 1921.		Genova	300,139
Budapest	1,184,616	Firenze	242,147
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA, 1910.		Catania	217,389
Prague	223,741	Bologna	189,770
POLAND, 1920 (ESTIMATED).		Venezia	168,038
Warsaw	980,000	Messina	150,000
Lodz	429,775	FINLAND, 1919.	
Lemberg (1910)	206,113	Helsingfors (with Suomenlinna).	187,544
Vilna	205,000	RUMANIA, 1917.	
Cracow	176,463	Bucharest	308,987
Posen	156,691	GREECE.	
SWITZERLAND, 1920.		Athens (1907)	167,479
Zurich	206,120	Salonica (1915)*	157,889
Basel	135,385		
Bern	103,986		
Geneva	55,733		

* Provisional figures of 1915 Census.

POPULATION OF CITIES IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES—*contd.*

Cities.	Population.	Cities.	Population.
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1920 (ESTIMATED).		MEXICO, 1910.	
New York ...	5,620,048	Mexico ...	1,080,000
Chicago ...	2,701,705	Guadalajara ...	119,468
Philadelphia ...	1,823,779	Puebla ...	96,121
Detroit ...	993,678	COLOMBIA, 1918.	
Cleveland ...	796,836	Bogota ...	143,994
St. Louis ...	772,897	PERU, 1919 (ESTIMATED).	
Boston ...	748,060	Lima ...	175,000
Baltimore ...	733,826	BRAZIL (ESTIMATED).	
Pittsburg ...	588,343	Rio de Janeiro (1920) ...	1,157,873†
Las Angeles ...	576,673	Sao Paulo (1919) ...	504,300
Buffalo ...	506,775	Bahia (1913) ...	348,130
San Francisco ...	506,676	Belem (1913) ...	275,167
Milwaukee ...	457,147	Pernambuco (1913) ...	216,484
Washington ...	437,571	Porto Alegre (1913) ...	150,343
Newark ...	414,524	URUGUAY, 1920 (ESTIMATED).	
Cincinnati ...	401,247	Monte Video ...	361,950
New Orleans ...	387,219	ARGENTINA, 1920 (ESTIMATED).	
Minneapolis ...	380,582	Buenos Aires ...	1,674,000
Kansas City ...	324,410	Rosario (1914) ...	222,592*
Seattle ...	315,685	CHILE, 1919 (ESTIMATED).	
Indianapolis ...	314,194	Santiago ...	424,993
Jersey City ...	298,103	Valparaiso ...	218,465
Rochester ...	295,750	AUSTRALIA, 1919 (ESTIMATED).	
Portland ...	258,288	Sidney ...	828,700
Denver ...	256,491	Melbourne ...	743,000
Toledo ...	243,164	Adelaide ...	256,660
Providence ...	237,595	Brisbane ...	189,576
Columbus ...	237,031	MOROCCO, 1919 (ESTIMATED).	
Louisville ...	234,891	Fez ...	109,189
St. Paul ...	234,680	BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA, 1921. †	
Oakland ...	216,261	Johannesburg ...	284,191
Atlanta ...	200,616	Cape Town ...	206,558
Omaha ...	191,601	EGYPT, 1917.	
Worcester ...	179,754	Cairo ...	790,939
Birmingham ...	178,270	Alexandria ...	444,617
Syracuse ...	171,717	FRENCH DOMINIONS IN AFRICA (ESTIMATED).	
Richmond ...	171,667	Alger (1912) ...	172,397
New Haven ...	162,537	Tunis (1920) ...	161,718
Memphis ...	162,351		
Dayton ...	152,559		
Bridgeport ...	143,555		
Scranton ...	137,783		
Grand Rapids ...	137,634		
Paterson ...	135,866		
Fall River ...	120,485		
Nashville ...	118,342		
Albany ...	113,344		
Lowell ...	112,759		
Cambridge ...	109,694		
Spokane ...	104,437		
CUBA, 1919.			
Havana ...	363,506		
CANADA, 1911.			
Montreal ...	470,480		
Toronto ...	376,538		
Winnipeg ...	136,035		
Vancouver ...	100,401		

* Census figures

† Preliminary unadjusted figures.

POPULATION OF CITIES IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES—*concl'd.*

Cities.	Population.	Cities.	Population.
TURKEY IN ASIA (ESTIMATED).		JAPAN, 1920— <i>cont'd.</i>	
Brussa ...	110,000	Kobe ...	608,628
SYRIA (ESTIMATED).		Kyoto ...	591,305
Damascas ...	250,000	Nagoya ...	429,990
Aleppo ...	250,000	Yokohama ...	422,942
Beyrouth (Beirut) ...	180,000	Nagasaki ...	176,554
PERSIA (ESTIMATED).		Hiroshima (1918) ...	162,391
Tehran ...	220,000	Kanazawa (1918) ...	158,637
Tabriz ...	200,000	Kure (1918) ...	154,687
SIAM, 1919 (ESTIMATED).		KOREA, 1920.	
Bangkok ...	630,000	Seoul ...	302,636
CHINA, 1918 (ESTIMATED).		JAVA, 1918.	
Hankow ...	1,443,950	Batavia ...	234,697
Pekin ...	*	Soerabaya ...	160,801
Shanghai ...	1,000,000	Soerakarta ...	137,882
Canton ...	900,000	PHILIPPINES, 1918.	
Tientsin ...	800,000	Manila ...	283,613
Hangchow ...	684,137	AZERBAIJAN (ESTIMATED).	
Ningpo ...	670,000	Baku ...	250,000
Foochow ...	624,000	GEORGIA, 1915.	
Soochow ...	500,000	Tiflis ...	346,766
Chungking ...	437,600	CENTRAL ASIA (ESTIMATED).	
Nanking ...	376,291	Tashkent (1913) ...	272,300
Amoy ...	114,000	Kokand (1911) ...	118,854
JAPAN, 1920.			
Tokyo ...	2,173,162		
Osaka ...	1,252,972		

* Over one million.

PART B.—Housing Statistics.

CHAPTER VI.—BOMBAY.*

SECTION 1.—INTRODUCTORY.

1. The practice of classifying buildings in Bombay City and of giving statistics of the accommodation contained in the same, as evidenced by the distribution of persons per room and the like, dates from 1901. It was originally intended to be a guide for the use of the Improvement Trust†, by indicating congested areas requiring opening up.

2. The scheme adopted in 1901 for collecting and presenting the information was retained in 1911. But at that Census little attention was paid to this matter. Mr. Mead, at the commencement of the Census operations in 1910, recorded his opinion that the Special Tables relating to houses were of little value. The Corporation, however, voted for their retention, and they were accordingly drawn up. But no discussion was attempted in the Report, the Tables being simply published and left to the Improvement Trust to use.

3. At the present Census the Corporation voted in favour of retention of these Tables, with only one modification suggested by the Provincial Superintendent, namely, the sub-classification of one-roomed tenements according to the number of families occupying them.

4. Before the next Census the Tables as they now stand should be carefully reconsidered. Several of them seem to be of little value, for instance the statistics of buildings by the number of occupants and buildings by the number of tenements. These two Tables tell us very little because the number of occupants and tenements in the average building depends entirely on the definition of "building." They are not valueless; but the quantity of information that can be collected and presented at a Census is limited, and it is for consideration whether any other information, if collected, would not be of more value. Unfortunately the usual thing is for no attention to be given to the Census till the very last minute, when adequate examination and discussion of methods is no longer possible.

5. On the present occasion the Tables relating to housing have been entitled Housing Tables, and given a separate serial numbering. Apart from this—within the limitations imposed by the Corporation's resolution and Government's Order—some effort has been made to improve them. In this we had on this occasion to guide us the Report and Tables of the English Census Report for the 1911 Census, when, for the first time the general term "house" was defined down closer by distinguishing different types of houses.

SECTION 2.—DEFINITION OF BUILDING.

6. The definition of "building" (and Census "house") in use in Bombay since 1901 is as follows—"The whole of a building under one undivided roof, or under two or more roofs connected *inter se* by subsidiary roofs." At first sight it might seem that the whole side of a street would by this definition come out as one building. But inspection will show that in the vast majority of cases the houses in any street, though built in one long line without passages between them, have separate and distinct roofs. But there is no definition in the world which is not liable to difficulty of interpretation. And the "building" in Bombay is no exception to the rule. Cases did occur in which the application of the undivided roof rule would have led to absurdities. Dr. Sandilands was in such cases consulted by his staff; and the principle which he followed was to give the benefit of the doubt to separation rather than amalgamation. That is to say, where the roof test failed, he used the tests of partition wall, separate access to the street, and separate ownership. Nevertheless, even

*This Chapter is written jointly by L. J. Sedgwick, I.C.S., and J. E. Sandilands, M.D., D.P.H.

†Vol. XI, Part V (1901), p. 66.

making allowances for these modifications, it would seem that the Bombay definition ought to be carefully reconsidered *before* the next Census. It would appear that we may possibly want some intermediate unit between the "building" and the "tenement."

SECTION 3.—TOTAL NUMBER OF BUILDINGS.

7. The total number of buildings of all classes in the last 3 Censuses has been returned as follows:—

Census year.	Number of Buildings.	Inter-Censal Increase.
1901	... 38,454	
1911	... 45,716	+7,262
1921	... 52,334	+6,618

The increase in this decade has been somewhat less than in the previous decade, as was to be expected from the tendency for all new buildings to be constructed both for dwellings and for commercial purposes on a larger scale and for two or more buildings of the older type on demolition to be replaced by one block of tenements or offices under a common undivided roof.

8. It would be useless to compare the number of buildings in Bombay with those in any other capital City in India, because the special local definition of building is probably not elsewhere adopted, and even if adopted might not be applied in an exactly comparable way. The figures of buildings in Karachi and Ahmedabad will be compared with Bombay in the Chapters relating to those Cities.

SECTION 4.—BUILDINGS PER ACRE.

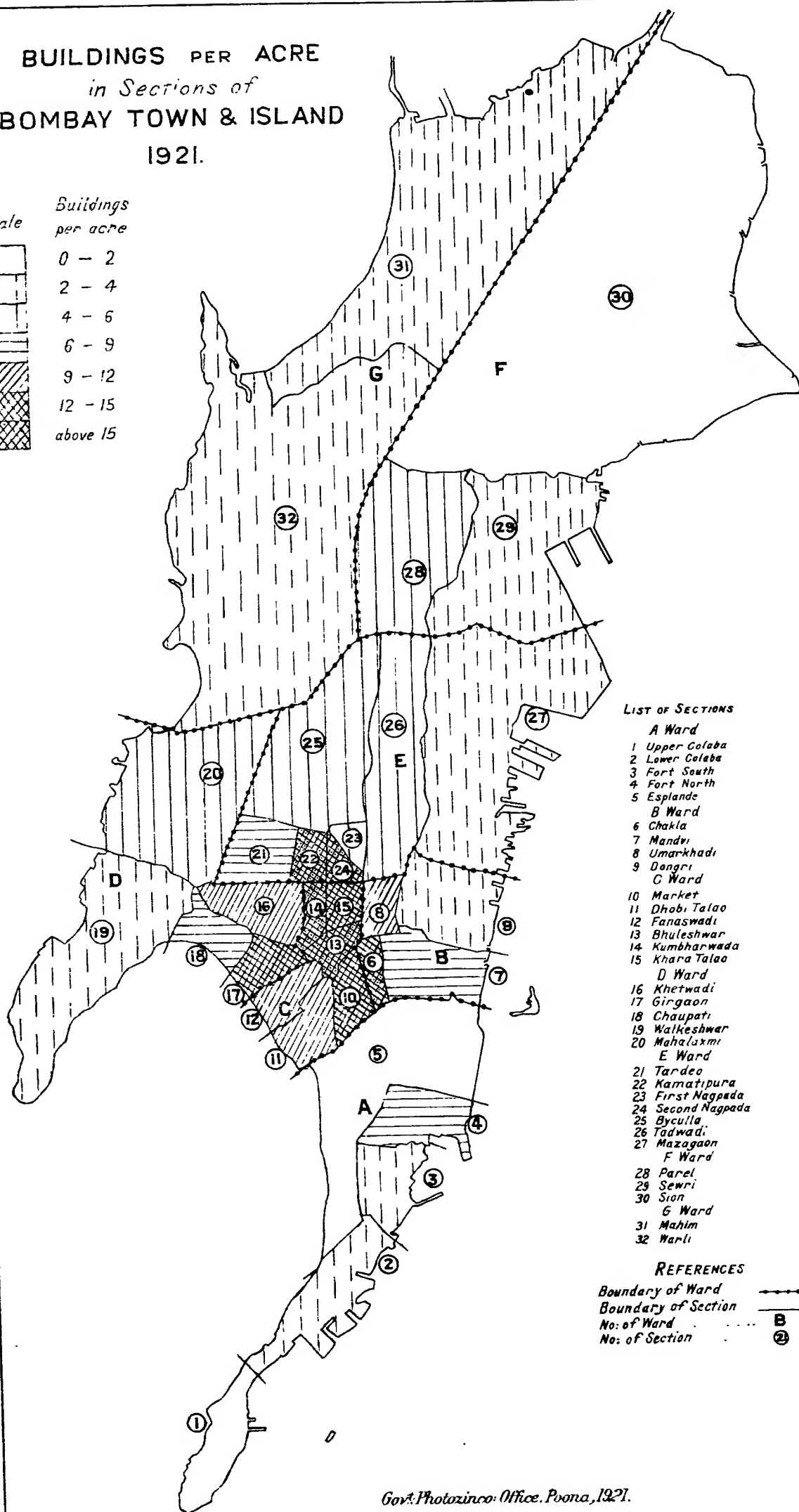
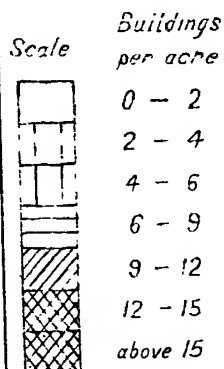
9. The map shows the number of buildings per acre, as given in City Table I. For the most part, the density of buildings, or pressure of buildings on the land, agrees with the density of the population, as shown in the same Table, and in the diagram in the first part of this Report. But there are of necessity exceptions. Thus Kamatipura has the highest number of buildings per acre (19), and the density of its population is 714, whereas Kumbharwada with a density of 736 has only 17 buildings per acre. Similar variations will be found all through; and this is inevitable, since (i) where any region has been visited by the Improvement Trust or the Speculator, larger buildings will have replaced small ones, without, however, reducing the number of persons accommodated per unit of surface area, and (ii) local demands on house accommodation necessarily vary.

SECTION 5.—HOUSING TABLE I.

10. *General Classification of Buildings.*—As regards the grouping of buildings by classes it was apparent after studying the English Tables that the classifications of buildings used in the first Housing Table in Bombay in 1901 and 1911 were capable of improvement. A new scheme, modelled on the English was therefore drawn up. In the first place buildings were divided into two main classes corresponding with the English division into "Buildings used as dwellings" and "Buildings not used as dwellings." But since the term "used as dwellings" might in this country give rise to the idea that the criterion was occupation on the Census night or not, the terms "Residential" and "Non-residential" were adopted. Neither in the English Census nor in Bombay do the terms "Residential" or "used as dwellings" mean that some person or other was enumerated in the buildings concerned. Nor do the converse terms mean that no person was enumerated in them. These terms relate to the *ordinary* uses of the building. In England in 1911 the criterion applied was the "provision of sleeping accommodation on the premises." Thus a shop or office which is structurally part of a dwelling house is counted along with the latter as a building used as a dwelling, while a lock-up shop is counted as a building not used as a dwelling.* In Bombay on this occasion

* Census of England and Wales, 1911, General Report, p. 193.

BUILDINGS PER ACRE *in Sections of* **BOMBAY TOWN & ISLAND** **1921.**



LIST OF SECTIONS

- A Ward**
 1 Upper Colaba
 2 Lower Colaba
 3 Fort South
 4 Fort North
 5 Esplanade
- B Ward**
 6 Chakla
 7 Mandvi
 8 Umarkhadi
 9 Dongri
- C Ward**
 10 Market
 11 Dhobi Talao
 12 Fanaswadi
 13 Bhuleshwar
 14 Kumbharwada
 15 Khara Talao
- D Ward**
 16 Khetwadi
 17 Girgaon
 18 Chaupati
 19 Walkeshwar
 20 Mahalaxmi
- E Ward**
 21 Tardeo
 22 Kamatipura
 23 First Nagpada
 24 Second Nagpada
 25 Byculla
 26 Tadwadi
 27 Mazagaon
- F Ward**
 28 Parel
 29 Sewri
 30 Sion
- G Ward**
 31 Mahim
 32 Warli

REFERENCES

Boundary of Ward ————
 Boundary of Section ————
 No. of Ward B
 No. of Section 2

we had to rely on the description of the house in the house lists, prepared however by a good type of municipal employee. No direction was given to distinguish residential from non-residential buildings at the time of writing up the lists, because the decision to have these two main classes was arrived at later. The classification was made according to the descriptions entered. Nevertheless the main classification is likely to be fairly correct, since the terms shop, dwelling house and "shop and dwelling house combined" are quite well known and understood.

11. The following shows comparatively the three Bombay classifications and the English classification of 1911 :—

Bombay (1901).	Bombay (1911).	Bombay (1921).	England and Wales (1911).
Bungalows.	Bungalows and dwelling houses.	<i>Residential Buildings.</i>	<i>Buildings used as dwellings.</i>
Chawls.	Shops.	Bungalows and dwelling houses.	Ordinary dwelling houses.
Houses (Dwelling).	Temples and Churches.	Servants quarters.	Blocks of Flats.
Houses with godowns	Schools.	Chawls.	Shops.
Churches.	Dispensaries. Hospitals and Sanitaria.	Factories, shops and Offices combined with dwellings.	Hotels, Inns and Public Houses.
Masjids.	Theatres.	Dharmashalas.	Offices, Warehouses, Workshops, Factories.
Temples (Hindu).	Stables.	Institutions.	Institutions.
Temples (Fire, Parsee).	Godowns.	Huts.	Others.
Shops.	Residence and Shop combined.	Others and unclassified.	<i>Buildings not used as dwellings.</i>
Dharmashalas.	Dharmashalas.	<i>Non-Residential Buildings.</i>	Places of worship.
Sheds or Huts (tiled or corrugated iron for dwelling).	Mills.	Places of worship.	Government and Municipal buildings.
Sheds or Huts. (Do. do. for shops.)	Workshops and Factories.	Institutions and places of amusement.	Shops.
Sheds or Huts (attached for shops).	Barracks.	Factories, Mills and Works.	Offices.
Sheds or Huts. (Do. do. for dwelling).	Offices.	Offices and Shops.	Warehouses, Workshops, Factories.
Mills.	Chowkies.	Godowns, Stables, Garages, Sheds and Chowkies.	Theatres and other places of amusement.
Workshops and Factories.	Tents.	Others and unclassified.	
Dispensaries.			
Hospitals.			
Godowns.			
Barracks.			
Schools.			
Sanitariums.			
Theatres.			
Stables.			
Buildings * used as offices only.			
Tents.			
Chowkies.			

12. It will be seen that the Bombay classification has been different at each of the three Censuses.

13. The main difference between the English figures and the Bombay figures of this Census is that whereas in Bombay we have included all buildings, both residential and non-residential, in England in 1911 the figures of "buildings not used as dwellings" were not intended to be exhaustive. The authors

of the Report wrote—" Under 'Buildings not used as dwellings' only certain specified heads are given, it being apparent that the returns of other miscellaneous buildings would furnish no useful results and could not be made complete. A stable is a building and a rabbit hutch is not, but at what precise point constructions intermediate between these types cease to be buildings it would be difficult to say."* In Bombay on the other hand it was necessary to include all buildings, since otherwise continuity with past Censuses would have been broken. Moreover in this country, where people sometime reside in buildings so small as to seem impossible to the Westerner, and where any shed into which it is possible to crawl, or even a sheet of corrugated iron propped up against a wall is capable of being converted into a residence at any time, the necessity of including all non-residential buildings is apparent, since otherwise some of the "huts" among the residential buildings would be smaller than some of the excluded non-residential "sheds."

14. Another point of divergence is that whereas in England in 1911 persons enumerated in "buildings not used as dwellings," for instance watchmen in shops and warehouses,† were included with vagrants, persons in vessels, &c., in Bombay we distinguished the population enumerated in non-residential buildings in a supplement to Housing Table IV quite separately from vagrants and floating population in vessels.

SECTION 6.—INCREASE IN BUILDINGS BY CLASSES.

15. The following statement summarises the main classes in which increases in the number of buildings has occurred :—

	1901.	1911.	1921.
Buildings with residential descriptions ...	31,304	33,193	34,808
(Difference) ...		(+1,889)	(+1,615)
Shops and Offices ...	2,531	1,999	2,757
(Difference) ...		(- 532)	(+ 758)
Factories, Mills and Works ...	467	1,033	1,530
(Difference) ...		(+ 566)	(+ 497)
Godowns, Stables, Garages, Sheds and Chowkies ...	3,372	8,131	11,709
(Difference) ...		(+4,759)	(+3,578)
Other buildings ...	780	1,360	1,530
(Difference) ...		(+ 580)	(+ 170)
Total Buildings ...	38,454	45,716	52,334
(Difference) ...		(+7,262)	(+6,618)

16. Garages and Sheds (not used as dwellings) were not separately shown in 1901 and 1911. Garages in many cases are presumably converted stables and in others are new since 1911. Sheds in previous Censuses may have been in certain instances described as godowns.

17. The figures in the above Table are on the whole consistent save in the case of the returns for Shops and Offices, which show a fall of 532 in the first period as against a rise of 758 in the second.

18. The explanation of this anomaly is that in 1901 no provision was made for the case of a shop and dwelling combined, whereas in 1911 a separate column was provided for such shops, and contained no less than 4,714 buildings. In these circumstances it seems evident that of the 2,531 shops shown in 1901 many hundreds were combined with dwellings, and were in 1911 transferred to the class "Residence and Shop."

* Loc. cit.

† Op. Cit., p. 194.

19. The overstatement in 1901 of the number of non-residential shops, must necessarily have led to an equivalent understatement of the number of buildings with residential descriptions, and it may therefore be inferred that the increase in dwellings in the first intercensal period is likely to have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1,200 rather than 1,889 the figure shown as the increase in the above tabular statement.

20. In regard to the figures for shops it should be noted that they do not in any way represent the number of such premises in the City. A large block of dwellings under one roof may and often does contain a dozen or more separately occupied shops on the ground floor, but all shops grouped under one roof have in each case been shown as one shop only and the same practice has been followed in the returns relating to Offices, workshops and small factories.

SECTION 7.—RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS.

21. In Bombay we have not yet (as in England) distinguished blocks of flats from other dwelling houses. No instructions to do so were given to the Charge Superintendents, and, as the term "block of flats" is not sufficiently well understood, to have been used in all cases in the House Lists it was not possible to differentiate them. The Flat is now such an important institution that at the next Census it may be well to make the distinction from the outset. That we have not the figures of true bungalows and blocks of flats since 1901 is rather a pity since the gradual disappearance of the former and its replacement by the latter has been a conspicuous feature of Bombay.

22. In 1901 the distinction between "bungalows" and "houses (dwelling)" must have been rather uncertain, though no comment is made on this point in the Report. Servants' quarters were, as will be seen, not differentiated till 1921.* Our main reason for differentiating them in our Tables was that the servants' quarters, as such, are not properly a separate rentable property or properties. Consequently one bungalow with several buildings of servants' quarters provides accommodation for only one *rent-payer*. The separate servants' quarters in the compound of a Malbar Hill bungalow are just as much part and parcel of the bungalow as are the kitchen and servants' room at the back of a modern flat. Consequently, since servants' quarters were by the rules separately numbered as houses it was thought best to keep them as a separate class in the Tables.

23. The following figures show the number of structures returned under titles which may be regarded as indicating that they were used as dwellings:—

1901.

Bungalows	...	1,598
Chawls	...	3,480
Houses (Dwelling)	...	19,593
Sheds or Huts (for dwelling)	...	5,703
Tents	...	213
Houses with godowns	...	717
		<hr/> 31,304

1911.

Bungalows and Dwelling Houses	...	28,467
Tents	...	12
Residence and Shop combined	...	4,714
		<hr/> 33,193

1921.

Bungalows and Dwelling Houses	...	12,371
Servants' Quarters	...	2,982
Chawls	...	4,725
Huts	...	9,084
Factories, Shops, Offices, &c., and combined with dwellings	...	5,646
		<hr/> 34,808

* That is to say they were separately numbered as in 1921, but were grouped in the Tables as dwelling houses.

24. Dwellings increased by 1,889 in the first period as against an increase of 1,615 in the period 1911 to 1921. As explained above in reference to the figures for shops, an understatement of the number of dwelling houses in 1901 has led to an overstatement of the increase which took place in their number between 1901 and 1911 and gives a false impression of a slowing down of the rate of increase in this decade. In both periods the comparatively slow rate of increase has been due to the modern tendency for small buildings containing few people to be replaced by large blocks of buildings which contain very much greater numbers of occupants.

SECTION 8.—GODOWNS, &c.

25. As regards the item "Godowns, Stables, Garages, Sheds and Chowkies" in 1921 it may be assumed that in 1901, since the only two types of sheds separately specified are those used either as dwellings or shops, any sheds used for storing material would have gone into "godowns," and in 1911 sheds were not specified at all. Consequently the following ought to be comparable:—

1901.

Godowns	... 1,103
Stables	... 1,718
Chowkies	... 551
	<hr/> 3,374

1911.

Stables	... 3,400
Godowns	... 3,742
Chowkies	... 989
	<hr/> 8,131

1921.

Godowns, Stables, Garages, Sheds and Chowkies.	11,709
	<hr/> 11,709

26. Between 1911 and 1921 the number of these buildings has apparently increased by 3,578. Close on half of the increase is accounted for by the addition to the 1921 Tables of 1,548 godowns in Railway, Customs and R. I. M. areas, *which were not shown in 1911.*

27. A similar procedure was followed in 1901 when Railway buildings were omitted altogether, and detached buildings in Docks, Dockyard and Military areas "appeared as a single number" (*vide* page 202 of Table I, Census of India, 1901, Volume XI-A).

28. The actual increase in the later period has accordingly only amounted to some 2,000 buildings, whilst in the earlier period it exceeded 4,700 without reckoning new Railway and Dockyard godowns.

29. The wide discrepancy between the two increments renders tempting the assumption that in 1911 when no separate provision was made for sheds or huts, some of the 5,703 sheds or huts for dwellings separately returned in 1901 were included in the godown-chowki class, with the result that the increase in godowns is overstated in the first intercensal period and understated in the second.

30. In this connection it may be noted that whereas between 1901 and 1911 stables only increased by 100 per cent., godowns increased by more than 200 per cent., from 1,103 to 3,742.

31. As in the case of other premises, godowns and stables tend steadily to be constructed, whether on new ground or in place of more numerous but smaller structures, on a larger scale. It has for example become necessary

to frame a by-law prohibiting the stabling of more than 100 animals under the same roof and the last ten years have witnessed the erection of many milch cattle, bullock and horse stables of the maximum size allowed.

32. A substantial proportion of this increase no doubt represents newly erected garages for the 9,000 motor vehicles which are registered as running and garaged in the City. The remainder has been due to the demands for sheds, godowns and stables created by the steady expansion of trade. Further the increasing demands for transport have in the last ten years been met to a much greater extent by motor vehicles. Needless to say the number of motor vehicles is much less than the number of bullock or horse drawn carst required for equal loads and distances, so that considerable economies are effected under a system of motor transport in the provision of accommodation.

33. In C Ward buildings of the godown stable class have decreased by 211. The above considerations together afford a probable explanation of the diminution in the *rate* of increase of buildings of the stable godown type in the last ten years.

34. The actual increase between 1911 and 1921, after deducting 1,548 godowns, &c., in Railway and Dockyard areas, has amounted to 2,030. In A and B Wards the increase of 251 is more than accounted for by buildings in the Railway and Dockyard areas.

35. In D Ward, Khetwadi and Mahalaxmi are chiefly responsible for the total increase of 611. The increase in Mahalaxmi amounts to 262 and is distributed over all the circles in the Section. An increase of 78 chiefly due to the erection of kucha stables for bullocks on the open ground between Arthur Road and Clerk Road, has occurred in Circle 9. An increase of 55 in Circle No. 1 between Pedder Road and Warden Road has been due to the erection of garages and sheds in the compounds of the large private houses which occupy this area. In Khetwadi an increase of 209 affecting in a greater or less degree all circles, has been most marked in Circles Nos. 1 and 2 West of Charni Road and between Grant Road on the North and Girgaum Road on the South. In this area a number of commercial and private garages have been erected and the land between Kennedy Bridge and Freire Bridge is occupied by a number of builder's sheds in addition to garages for motors. The increase in the two Circles has amounted to 101.

36. In E Ward the numbers have increased by 1,720 from 1,660 in 1911 to 3,380 in 1921. Practically the whole of this increase has occurred in the Sections of Byculla (+371), Tadvadi (+762), and Mazagaon (+560). Tadvadi and Mazagaon are towards their southern limits opposite Lukri Bunder and both Sections contain large numbers of sheds for the storage of wood, Mazagaon on Reay Road and Tadvadi to the North of the Maratha Hospital and South of the Victoria Road. Behind the Maratha Hospital is a large extent of waste land occupied by kutchha bullock stables, dilapidated sheds and kutchha huts; and further North Tadvadi contains nine mills with godowns and sheds in their compounds. The southern half of the Section contains the godowns and sheds attached to two iron foundries and other factories. Both Sections may be said to team with sheds of various types, but whilst the increase in Tadvadi is real, in Mazagaon an increase of 278 out of the total increase of 560 for the Section is accounted for by buildings in Customs, Railway and Dockyard areas not shown in 1911. With unimportant exceptions the increase of 371 in Byculla Section has been limited to No. 1 Circle in the area North of Bellasis Road between Ripon Road and the Railway. The northern area of the No. 1 Circle on either side of the Arthur Road contains milch cattle stables, and the garages, godowns and sheds attached to mills, and motor vehicle and other factories. The area east of the Byculla Club contains a number of stables. Garages are attached to the private dwelling houses in the residential areas. The total increase in No. 1 Circle amounts to 213. Coal godowns and sheds in the Chinchpokli and Byculla Railway Yards (not enumerated in 1911) numbered 46.

37. In the sparsely populated areas covered by F and G Wards, where so much land is available and used for small kutcha stables often containing no more than a single pair of bullocks and for kutcha sheds of all descriptions, increases of 758 and 449 respectively call for no comment.

38. The results summarised by Wards for the Censuses of 1911 and 1921 are as follows :—

Buildings of the Godown Class.

Ward.	1921.	1911.	Difference.
A	941	703	+ 238
B	1,172	1,159	+ 13
C	594	805	+ 211
D	1,858	1,247	+ 611
E	3,380	1,660	+ 1,720
F	1,960	1,202	+ 758
G	1,804	1,355	+ 449
Total	11,709	8,131	+ 3,578

SECTION 9.—CHAWLS.

39. At the urgent request of the Labour Office, buildings returned as Chawls have been separately classified in this Table. Chawls were not separately classified in 1911 and in the absence of any intention to do so in 1921, the limitation attending the interpretation of the figures now published by request, and the fact that as in 1901 they are incomplete, or—in the words of the 1901 Report—"not absolutely accurate for all areas," should be noted. The incompleteness of the returns has resulted from the following causes :—

(1) No specific instructions were given to Charge Superintendents to distinguish chawls from other dwellings, and no attempt was made to define the meaning of the term chawl.

(2) Inhabited buildings were distinguished from uninhabited buildings by the description "Dwelling House."

(3) Enumerators were advised that the term "chawl" would be accepted as a sufficient description for dwelling houses of the chawl type, but they were *not* expressly ordered to describe such dwellings as chawls.

(4) Inhabited houses with factories, shops, &c., on the ground floor were by order described as "dwellings with factories, &c.," and this description as is evident from the returns and from inspection of the areas concerned, was used for large numbers of chawls in which the ground floor was occupied by shops, workshops or factories.

40. In Khetwadi Section for example the number of chawls in 1921 have been shown as 29 only as compared with 228 in 1901. There has been no diminution in the number of chawls in this Section on the scale suggested by the figures; but the greater number of them have shops or workshops on the ground floor.

41. Kumbharwada is an example of a Section in which the Charge Superintendent applied the description "dwelling house" to all chawls whether they had shops on the ground floor or not, with the result that his return for chawls is "Nil". The Section contained 98 chawls in 1901 and contains at least as many at the present time.

42. In Second Nagpada, save in 6 cases, the 1901 Charge Superintendent appears to have described chawls (as he was entitled to do) as dwelling houses. There is no reason to suppose that this Section which now contains 46 chawls returned as such and others returned as dwellings with shops, contained so small a number as 6 twenty years ago.

43. In Mazagaon chawls have recently been built by the G. I. P. Railway and by the Port Trust. New chawls have also been erected in the neighbourhood of the fishing village in the North of the Section, and building operations of all kinds have been extensive since the 1901 Census. The returns for chawls show an increase of 232 (from 26 to 258) but although much of this increase is real, it is unfortunately not possible to say what proportion of it is apparent only and due to the transfer of chawls to the dwelling house class in the 1901 returns; and so it is with deficits and increases in the Sections throughout the Island.

44. *Definition of Chawl.*—The Chawls built at the expense of public funds for the police, for Municipal scavengers and for the working classes are large blocks of buildings containing rows of single room tenements entered direct from a common passage or verandah and provided with privies and washing places for use in common by the occupants of the various rooms. Chawls of the same type built by private enterprise have in many cases rows of shops on the ground floor and were described in the lists as “dwellings with shops.”

45. Many buildings in crowded areas with narrow fronts facing the footway, have the external appearance of dwelling houses built for one family, but on inspection they will be found to make up in depth what they lack in frontage width and to contain rows of three or more single room tenements on each floor opening on to a common passage. Such buildings are commonly described as chawls, and have been so described in Second Nagpada. In Khetwadi and Kumbharwada they have been returned as dwelling houses.

46. There remains the genuine dwelling house built originally for one family distinguishable by the variation in the size of the different rooms, but now split up into single room tenements.

47. These should not be described as chawls, but are liable to be so classified on account of their crowded condition and the number of separate tenements they now contain.

48. As regards the social status of the occupants, Girgaum is an example of a Section containing large numbers of blocks of buildings constructed on the chawl plan and varying only in that the tenements each contains two rooms instead of one and are occupied by members of the middle class earning Rs. 80 per month or more.

49. One such building described as a chawl in the postal address accommodates pleaders and medical men earning Rs. 300 per month. Dwellings of this type have in Girgaum been returned as chawls and are so described by the Assistant Health Officers—both old Bombay residents, who have at different times been in charge of the Ward in which Girgaum is situated. Other authorities are disposed to limit the term chawl to houses occupied by the lower classes in which each tenement consists of one room only.

50. It may further be noted that the term chawl affords no indication of the sanitary state of the dwellings to which it is applied. The modern chawl built from public funds is as a rule well lighted and ventilated and provided with modern sanitary conveniences. The older chawls are as grossly insanitary as the older dwelling houses originally intended for one family and now broken down into separate tenements.

51. From what has been said it follows that a return of chawls, even if it were complete, would, in the first place, through the inclusion of middle class chawls, overstate by a high figure the number of working class dwellings in the City, and in the second afford no indication as to what proportion of them might be assumed to be comparatively satisfactory.

52. The returns for 1901 and 1921 are admittedly incomplete and indicate clearly that in the absence of express instructions as to chawls and of any attempt to define the meaning of the term, variations in the description of identical types of dwellings have in certain instances been in opposite directions for the same Section. The figures for the two periods are therefore not comparable with one another, and, being based on no rule, will not be comparable with the number of chawls returned in 1931 under any rules and definitions that may be adopted by the Census Authorities.

SECTION 10.—DHARMASHALAS AND PLACES OF WORSHIP.

53. The following are exactly comparable:—

Dharmashalas: 1901—76, 1911—109, 1921—115 and

1901—

Churches	...	47
Masjids	...	142
Temples (Hindu)	...	311
Temples (Fire, Parsee)	...	32
		<hr/> 532

1911—

Temples and Churches	...	810
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1921—

Places of Worship	...	710
-------------------	-----	-----

54. The reduction in the number of places of worship in 1921 can be attributed partly to the fact that in 1911 the house-numbering staff may have displayed more (and perhaps unnecessary) zeal in numbering the very minute Hindu shrines which are so common,—shrines in some cases almost too small to have ever contained a resident on Census night. There is also a probability that in 1911 some temples with residences attached were classified as temples which in 1921 were classified as Dwelling Houses. Analysed down to Sections it is found that in two Sections the number of places of worship show no change. In nineteen there is little change; in eight there is a marked reduction, and in three a marked increase. The most considerable reduction by Wards occurs in C Ward,

SECTION 11.—MILLS.

55. Mills were not separately shown on this occasion because their numbers are already fully known to the various Departments which are concerned with factories and industries.

SECTION 12.—HOUSING TABLE II.

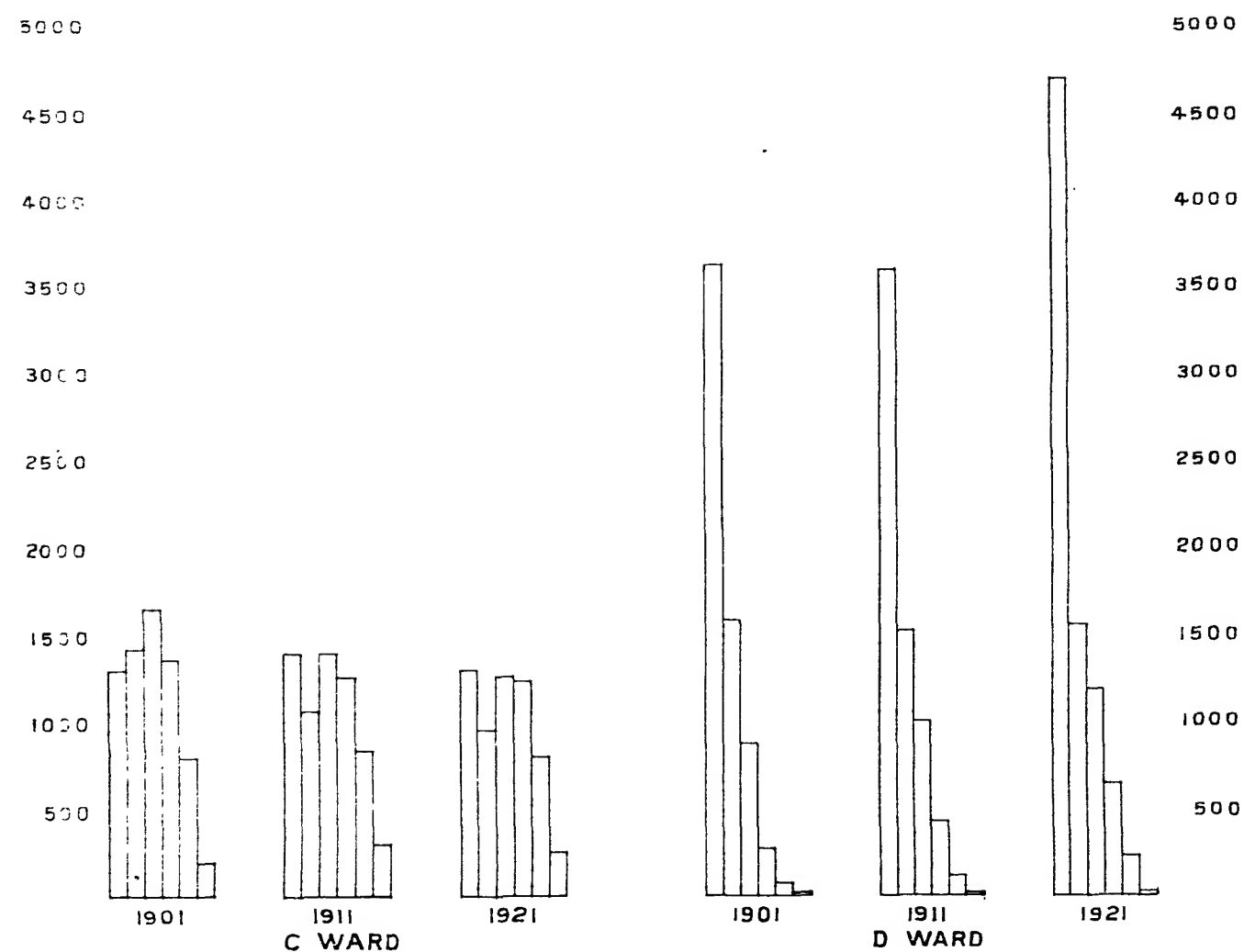
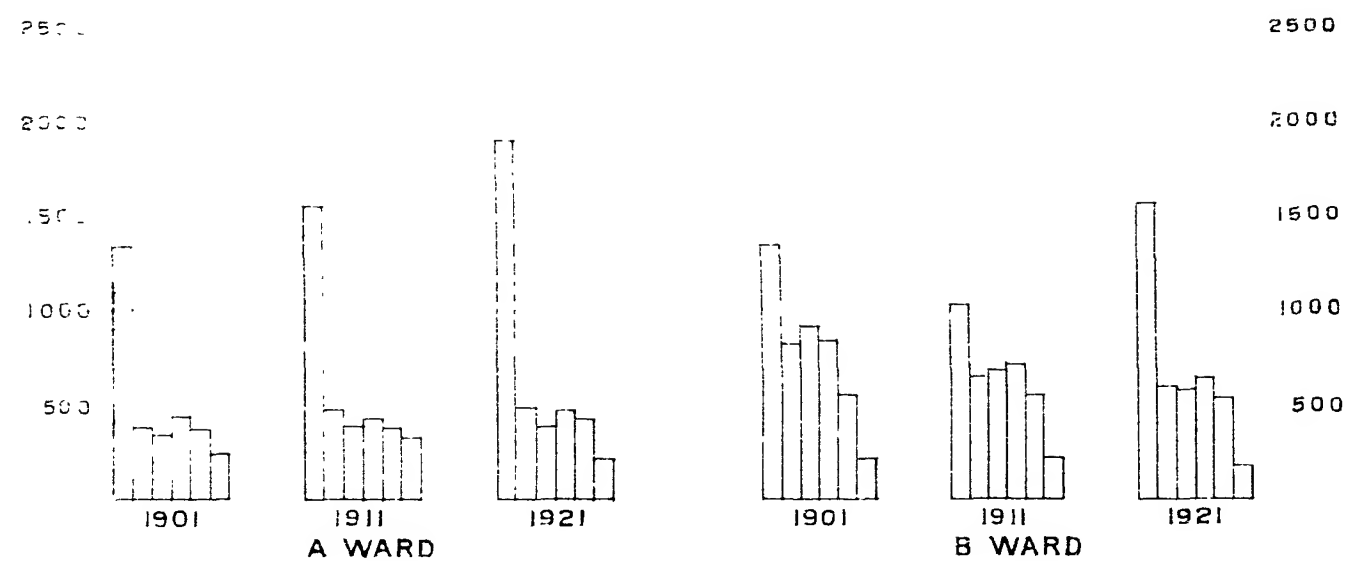
Classification by Number of Floors.

56. Buildings with one floor only, namely, the ground floor, have increased by 6,172 in the period 1911 to 1921 and by 5,904 in the period 1901 to 1911 as follows:—

Ground Floor Buildings.

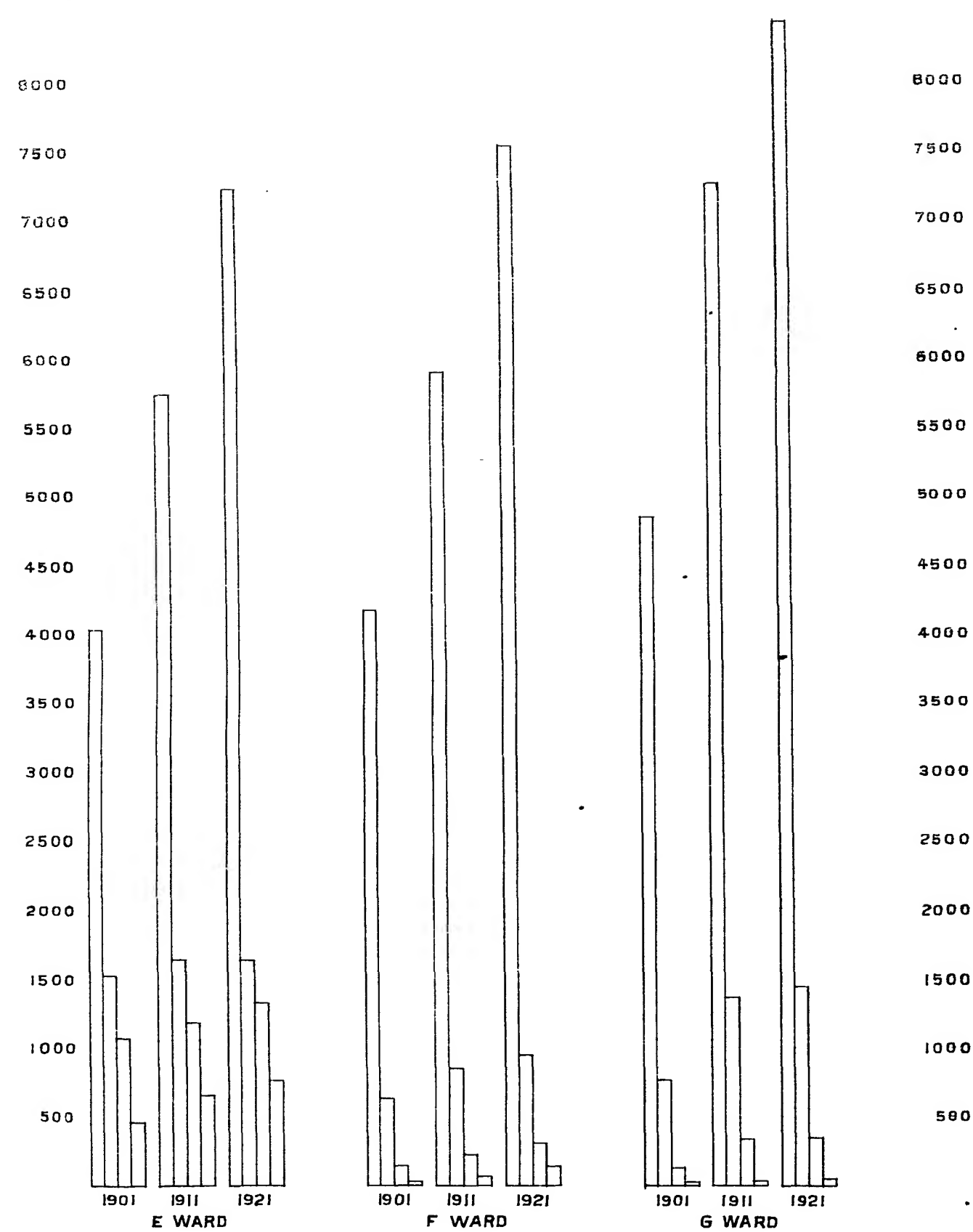
		Number.	Difference.
1901	...	20,608	
1911	...	26,512	+ 5,904
1921	...	32,684	+ 6,172

57. The greater increase in the last ten years is apparent only and has been due to the inclusion in the 1921 returns of 2,553 buildings in Railway, Customs and Dockyard areas. In 1911 and 1901, buildings in such areas were excluded from the Tables so that the actual increase has been only 3,619 in the last period as compared with 5,904 in the first.



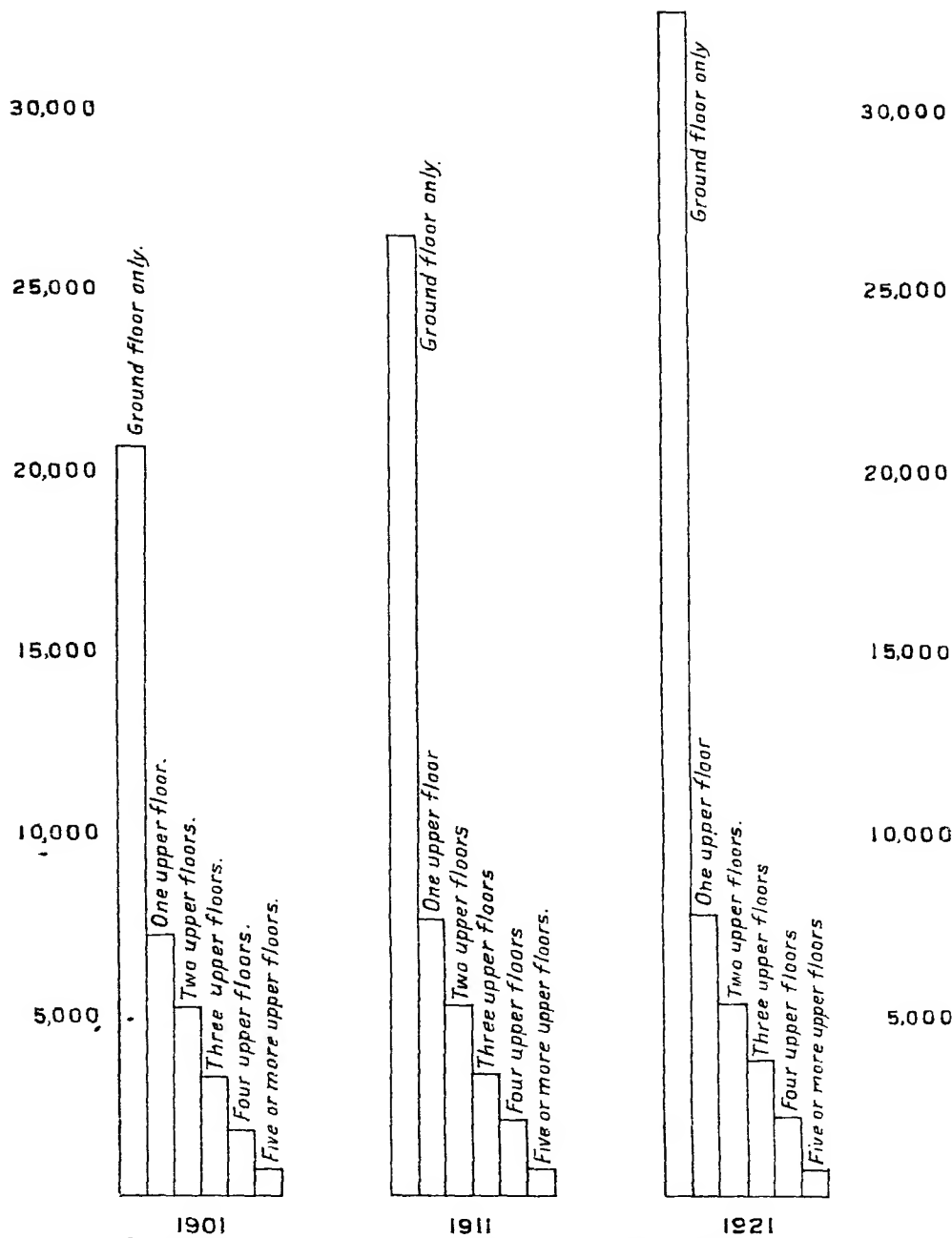
ACTUAL NUMBERS OF BUILDINGS WITH DIFFERENT NUMBER OF FLOORS,
A TO D WARDS - BOMBAY TOWN & ISLAND - 1901-1921.

NOTE:- In all cases the left-hand column is for buildings with ground floor only,
the second column for buildings with one upper floor, and so on down
to the sixth column which is for buildings with five or more upper floors.



ACTUAL NUMBERS OF BUILDINGS WITH DIFFERENT NUMBER OF FLOORS,
E TO G WARDS - BOMBAY TOWN & ISLAND - 1901-1921.

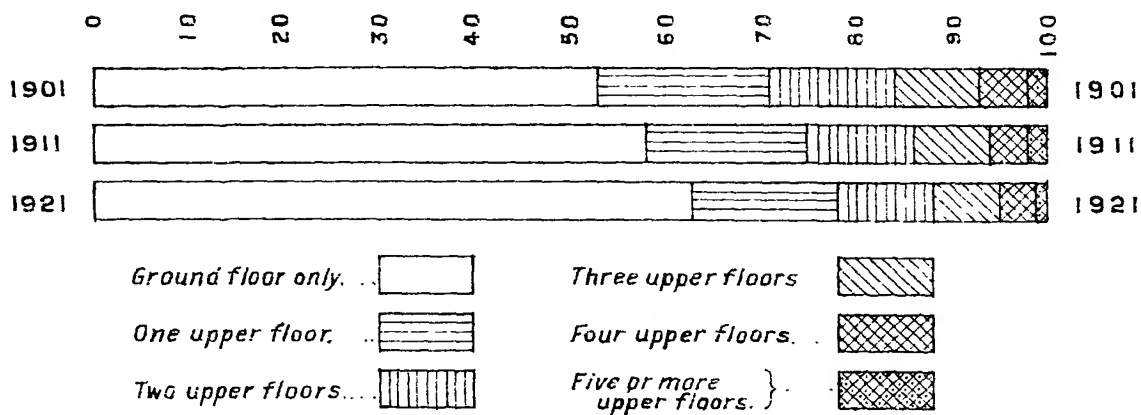
NOTE:- In all cases the left-hand column is for buildings with ground floor only,
the second column for buildings with one, the third for buildings with two,
and the fourth for buildings with three or more upper floors.



Actual numbers of buildings with different numbers of floors,
BOMBAY CITY-1901, 1911, 1921.

Percentage Distribution of Buildings according to
Number of floors.

BOMBAY CITY-1901, 1911, 1921.



58. The same areas contained in 1921, 1,548 buildings of the godown, stable and shed class, not shown in previous Censuses, which may be assumed to have been ground floor structures. The remaining 1,005 ground floor buildings in Railway and Dockyard areas were presumably one storeyed bungalows or chawls, servants' quarters and various premises returned as huts.

59. In *A Ward* an increase of 339 in the number of ground floor buildings is more than accounted for by 547 ground floor buildings in Railway and Dockyard areas.

60. In *B Ward* an increase of 550 is accounted for as follows:—

Area.		Increase 1911-21.
Mandvi Circle No. 12	...	95
Dongri Circle No. 2	...	115
Railway, Dockyard, Customs, &c.	...	362
		<hr/>
Total	...	572
		<hr/>

61. Circle No. 12 in Mandvi opposite the Victoria Dock includes the area on both sides of the Frere Road in which buildings of the godown class have increased by 116 from 94 to 210. Circle No. 2 Dongri includes Nowroji Hill where large numbers of temporary and semi-permanent ground floor dwellings have been provided to accommodate persons displaced by the levelling of the Hill and the quarrying operations. On the levelled ground some 30 godowns have also been erected.

62. *C Ward*.—There has been no increase in the number of ground floor buildings in *C Ward*, a densely crowded area, which does not contain any railway or other premises omitted from the 1911 Tables.

63. *D Ward*.—The greater part of the total increase of 1,125 in the ground floor dwellings of *D Ward* has occurred in the comparatively sparsely populated Sections of Mahalaxmi and Walkeshwar, which together account for 941 of the total excess.

64. In the crowded areas of Khetwadi and Girgaum an increase of 287 in the ground floor buildings has been accounted for by an increase of 293 in the godown stable class of premises.

65. *Mahalaxmi Section*, with an excess of 641 in the ground floor structures, contains large tracts of unoccupied land in the neighbourhood of Tardeo Flats and elsewhere, besides a number of the best class of bungalows with large compounds. Buildings of the godown stable class have increased in number by 243. The erection of kutchas huts and stables, quarters for the Body Guard and quarters for the Municipal bigaries has increased the number of ground floor structures in Circle No. 9 at Tardeo by 161. In other circles the increase has been mainly furnished from the 246 Servants' quarters, the 418 huts and the 442 buildings of the godown stable class which the Section contains. On the other hand the area is sufficiently open to admit of the erection of permanent or semi-permanent ground floor structures of any one of the classes named in Housing Table I.

66. Walkeshwar Section shows an excess of 300 in the number of ground floor buildings. Of this excess 77 per cent. is accounted for by an increase of 231 in structures of the godown stable class.

67. The majority of the buildings in Walkeshwar are bungalows of the best type in large compounds and servants' quarters have been returned in the proportion of 50 to every 100 bungalows and dwellings. Bungalows and dwellings including servants' quarters have increased by 264, and assuming the proportion of servants' quarters for all dwellings to have held good for newly erected dwellings, 83 of the 264 new buildings would be servants' quarters and in most cases ground floor structures, as against the 69 ground floor buildings remaining to be accounted for.

68. The bulk of the increase in ground floor structures in Walkeshwar may accordingly be ascribed to an increase in the number of servants' quarters and of stables, godowns or garages.

69. *E Ward*.—The increase of 1,485 in ground floor structures, is except for insignificant figures limited to the Sections of Byculla 364, Tadvadi 489 and Mazagaon 582.

70. Byculla is accounted for by an increase of 328 in the godown class of buildings in the mill area between the Railway and Ripon Road North of Bellasis Road and between Sankli Street and Shepherd Road and by 62 godowns in the Byculla and Chinchpokli Goods yards.

71. The Tadvadi figure is similarly due to an increase of 399 in "godown" buildings between Victoria and Nesbit Roads and to 66 godowns of the Loco. Shops of the G. I. P. Railway behind Richardson and Cruddas' Works.

72. The Mazagaon figure is explained by the omission in 1911 of the Customs and Port Trust ground floor buildings which in 1921 numbered 597.

73. *F and G Wards*—The erection of 2,766 additional ground floor structures in these sparsely populated Wards, with large areas of vacant land calls for no comment. 853 have been returned from railway areas omitted in 1911.

74. *Buildings with five or more Upper Floors*.—The following summary indicates the changes which have occurred in the number of houses with five or more upper floors :—

		A.	B.	C.	D, E & F.	Total-
1901	...	244	219	214	17	694
1911	...	325	220	303	21	869
1921	...	210	186	255	37	688
Difference—						
1911-01	...	+81	+1	+89	+4	+175
1921-11	...	—115	—34	—48	+16	—181

75. From the above figures it will be seen that whereas houses with five or more upper floors have increased by 175, from 694 to 869 in the earlier period, they have decreased by 181 in the period of 1911-21. This reversion of the progress of events have been due to the restriction by law of the height of houses in the last decennium.

76. In 1905 the insertion of Sections 349 A and 349 B in the Municipal Act limited the height of all buildings to 70 feet, and the height of buildings abutting on streets less than 40 feet wide, to 40 feet. The two Sections were limited in their application to the erection of new buildings or to the raising of existing buildings and contained certain saving clauses which do not materially affect the question under consideration.

77. The new By-law requiring the provision of a $63\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ light plane was not brought into force until the middle of 1919, and did not apply to Fort North and certain other Sections.

78. In 1905 by an Amendment of Section 348 of the Municipal Act, the obligatory height of rooms in new buildings was increased from 8 to 10 feet and by Section 349 C the height of frame buildings was limited to two storeys.

79. The above enactments have necessarily curtailed the rate of increase in six storey buildings and in A, B and C Wards have contributed to produce an actual diminution in their number. Another contributory cause has been the reconstruction of two or more separate buildings under a separate roof to form one building under a single undivided roof.

80. Thus in Fort North where the number of six storey houses has fallen by 82, six houses have been rebuilt as one to accommodate the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, three houses been rebuilt as one for Messrs. Evans and Fraser, two houses in Block 1, Circle No. 1 have been rebuilt as one for an Insurance Company and many other similar examples could be cited. There were also in Fort North in 1921 a number of vacant plots of land on which lofty buildings stood in the 1911 Census.

81. The diminution in A Ward through the changes in Fort North has been much greater than in B and C Wards, but accords in direction with the changes in 13 out of 15 Sections in the area which these three Wards cover. In other words 13 out of 15 Charge Superintendents in A, B and C Wards have shown a decrease in the number of six storey houses in their Sections. The two exceptions are Upper Colaba, which has never contained six storey houses, and Kumbharwada, where the six storey houses numbered three only, in 1911, and have since only increased to six.

82. The figures may accordingly be taken as reflecting truly the combined effect of legal restrictions in the height of houses and the reconstruction of groups of separate houses as single buildings under one roof.

SECTION 13.—HOUSING TABLE III.

Buildings by Number of Tenements.

83. This Table being prepared this time for Residential buildings only, and in past Censuses for all buildings, exact comparison is not possible. The justification for breaking the continuity will be understood if the possible uses of the Table are considered. The idea of taking out figures of the number of tenements per building would presumably be to ascertain whether there is a movement from single houses and bungalows to large blocks of flats and large chawls. This being so the inclusion of a vast number of small non-residential ground-floor buildings such as godowns and stables would materially raise the proportion of buildings with few tenements, and thereby give the impression of less crowding than actually exists. This can be readily seen by comparing the percentages of the different classes for the three Censuses.

	Under 11.	11—20.	21—30.	31—40.	41—50.	Over 50.
1901 ... 83		9	4	2	1	1
1911 ... 85		8	3	2	1	1
1921 ... 80		10	4	2	1	3

Having regard to the large and steady increase in ground-floor structures, as shown in Housing Table II, there is little doubt that, had all buildings been included on this occasion, the percentage of the lowest class would have been very much higher. The same fact is brought out by comparing by classes the actual numbers of Residential buildings in 1921 with the actual numbers of all buildings in 1911. In the lowest class the numbers shown in this Table drop from 32,247 to 28,155, whereas in all other classes there is a noticeable increase.

84. It has already been mentioned above that this Table is of rather doubtful value. But if it is retained next time it is clear that the first class must be broken up into a number of sub-classes. The class as it stands (1 to 10 tenements) is heterogeneous, including all single bungalows, all semi-detached bungalows, all of the older and smaller blocks of flats, such as those in Marine Lines, and a good many moderately large ones. It is also unsatisfactory to have any one class that contains 80 per cent. of the total. The sub-classes might be—1 tenement, 2 tenements, 3 to 5 tenements, and 6 to 10 tenements.

SECTION 14.—HOUSING TABLE IV.

Buildings by the Number of Occupants.

85. The remarks made in discussing Housing Table III apply here also. The percentage distribution of all buildings included in this Table in the three Censuses is as follows:—

Percentage to total buildings of buildings containing								
Years.	20 persons and under.	21 to 40 persons.	41 to 60 persons.	61 to 80 persons.	81 to 100 persons.	101 to 150 persons.	151 to 200 persons.	201 persons and over.
1901	76	11	5	3	1	2	1	1
1911	64	17	8	4	2	3	1	1
1921	59	18	8	4	3	4	2	2

The number of buildings treated for this Table has steadily diminished. In 1901, buildings classes as under construction and Unfit for Human Habitation were excluded and detached buildings such as servants quarters and stables, which were rented jointly with a main building were not separately accounted for. In 1911 all the above were excluded, and also temples, churches, schools dispensaries, theatres, offices, shops, workshops, factories, and "unoccupied buildings generally." On this occasion the Table is limited to *Occupied Residential Buildings*. The total numbers of buildings have been 1901—36,206, 1911—32,902, 1921—31,388.

86. The decrease in the percentages of buildings with few and increase in those with many occupants is, therefore, due partly to the gradual narrowing down of the types of buildings for inclusion in the table, by which buildings like chowkies and sheds are eliminated, and partly (no doubt) to the general tendency—so often referred to in this Chapter—for a number of small buildings, on demolition, to be replaced by one large one.

87. Two supplements are published to this Table. The first shows the number of unoccupied residential buildings. These amount to 4,180, or no less than 11·7 per cent. of the total number of purely residential buildings in the City. This figure is liable to be misleading unless it is borne in mind that our Residential buildings include 9,000 odd "Huts, tents and lean-tos". An examination section by section shows that the number of Unoccupied Residential buildings in any section varies directly with the number of buildings shown as Huts, &c., in Housing Table I. It is, therefore, clear that the Unoccupied Residential Buildings were not substantial brick and mortar structures except in rare cases, but were buildings described in the returns as "Huts", some of which would be in process of completion and others in various stages of decay or demolition at the time of the Census.

88. The second Supplement gives, as a matter of interest, the number of persons enumerated in Non-Residential buildings. These figures are to be compared with the figures of Population enumerated in Residential Buildings as per Housing Table V. It will be seen that—excluding Military areas, for which no figures are available—1,071,309 persons were enumerated in Residential buildings, and 45,716 in Non-Residential buildings. In other words, of persons enumerated in buildings at all, only 4 per cent. were enumerated in buildings classed as Non-Residential. And this seems to indicate that our division of buildings into Residential and Non-Residential, though based entirely on the descriptions employed in the House-Lists, has been very nearly exactly correct.

SECTION 15.—HOUSING TABLE V.

Distribution of Persons by Rooms.

89. This Table is designed to show the pressure of persons upon room-space. That is to say, though the rooms are not measured, the number of persons per room is calculated, it being assumed that the size of a room will in

the long run average out at about the same throughout the City. This is possibly not quite correct. In Esplanade the average size of a room is likely to be rather larger than in, say, Kamatipura. Nevertheless the difference in average space in the two sections would probably be much less than might on theory be supposed.

90. The rooms are divided into four classes according to the number of occupants, *viz.*, 5 persons and under, 6 to 9 persons, 10 to 15 persons, and 20 persons and over. In this case, as in Housing Table III, the first class is too large, since it contains always more than half the population. If the Table is to be maintained next time it will be desirable to split this class up.

91. Being prepared for Residential buildings only this Table shows certain changes as compared with the corresponding Table (XIII) of 1911. Non-residential buildings necessarily included numbers of small structures such as chowkies with one or two persons in them. Consequently the appearance given is of a population living under more crowded conditions than before. The following are the percentage distributions of the population in 1911 and 1921 :—

	Percentage to total Population of Residential buildings of persons living in rooms occupied by			
	5 persons & under.	6 to 9 persons.	10 to 19 persons.	20 persons and over.
1911	89	20	9	3
1921	64	22	11	3

92. It is difficult to say how far this appearance of denser pressure upon room-space is a genuine change and how far it is due to the exclusion of Residential Buildings. But we justify the exclusion of the latter as before on the grounds already discussed.

93. The percentages for different Sections are as follows :—

Section.	Percentages to total Population of Sections of persons living in rooms each occupied by			
	5 persons and under.	6 to 9 persons.	10 to 19 persons.	20 persons and over.
Lower Colaba	61	20	14	5
Fort, South	48	11	6	35
Fort, North	76	15	7	2
Esplanade	61	19	11	9
Chakla	72	17	7	4
Mandvi	68	15	13	4
Umarkhadi	70	19	8	3
Dongri	61	25	12	2
Market	67	19	11	3
Dhobi Talao	78	14	6	2
Fanasvadi	75	15	7	3
Bhuleshwar	78	14	7	1
Kumbharvada	64	25	9	2
Khara Talao	67	21	9	3
Khetvadi	82	13	4	1
Girgaon	72	20	7	1
Chaupati	79	13	7	1
Walkeshwar	74	13	10	3
Mahalaxmi	67	21	9	3
Tardeo	67	21	11	1
Kamatipura	54	27	15	4
1st Nagpada	70	16	7	7
2nd Nagpada	66	19	11	4
Byculla	62	26	10	2
Tadvadi	55	27	16	2
Mazagaon	56	27	14	3
Parel	65	25	8	2
Sewri	52	26	14	8
Sion	52	30	15	3
Mahim	53	29	14	4
Warli	55	26	16	3

94. The most peculiar feature of the above Table is the figures for Fort, South. This is a very small Section, the total population of Residential buildings being only $3\frac{3}{4}$ thousand, whereas no other Section is below 10 thousand. The figures and percentage of persons living in rooms occupied by 20 persons and over is kept up by two Circles—Nos. 3 and 4. These are the region round Tamarind Lane, and the triangle to the east between Apollo Street, and Customs House Road. Undoubtedly this area is densely crowded. But the fact that out of 1,683 persons in residential buildings in these two Circles 1,092 reside in rooms occupied by 20 persons and over is surprising. In 1911 in the same two Circles the population was 1,088; and of this only 50 persons resided in rooms of this class.

95. A subsequent enquiry into the cause showed that this is a case like that of the Esplanade Circle referred to in the next para. At this Census the "rooms" occupied by 20 persons or more were portions of buildings under construction occupied on the Census night by Coolies. The partitions between the rooms had not in all cases been put in, and the coolies were sleeping in close numbers in entrance halls, passages, &c. The appearance of the Table therefore as regards these two Circles is fictitious.

96. In 1911 the fourth Circle of Esplanade presented the peculiar phenomenon of a population of 8,985, out of which 7,958 live in rooms occupied by 20 persons and over, and the average number of persons per house 173. This time the total population is only 2,128 and the population of Residential buildings 1,225, of whom 99 live in rooms of the class mentioned, and the average number of persons per residential building is only 38.28. The reason for the 1911 figure was that at that time the Alexandra Dock was in process of construction, and the Census returns included a large number of coolies, housed in very large sheds, each of which was divided up into very large compartments. Moreover since 1911 a number of streets from Victoria Terminus northwards to the Carnac Basin off Frere Road have been demolished and replaced by go-downs.

97. These two changes have resulted in reducing the population of the Circle by more than 6,000. And both—but especially the former—have resulted in the reduction of the number of persons per house and per room.

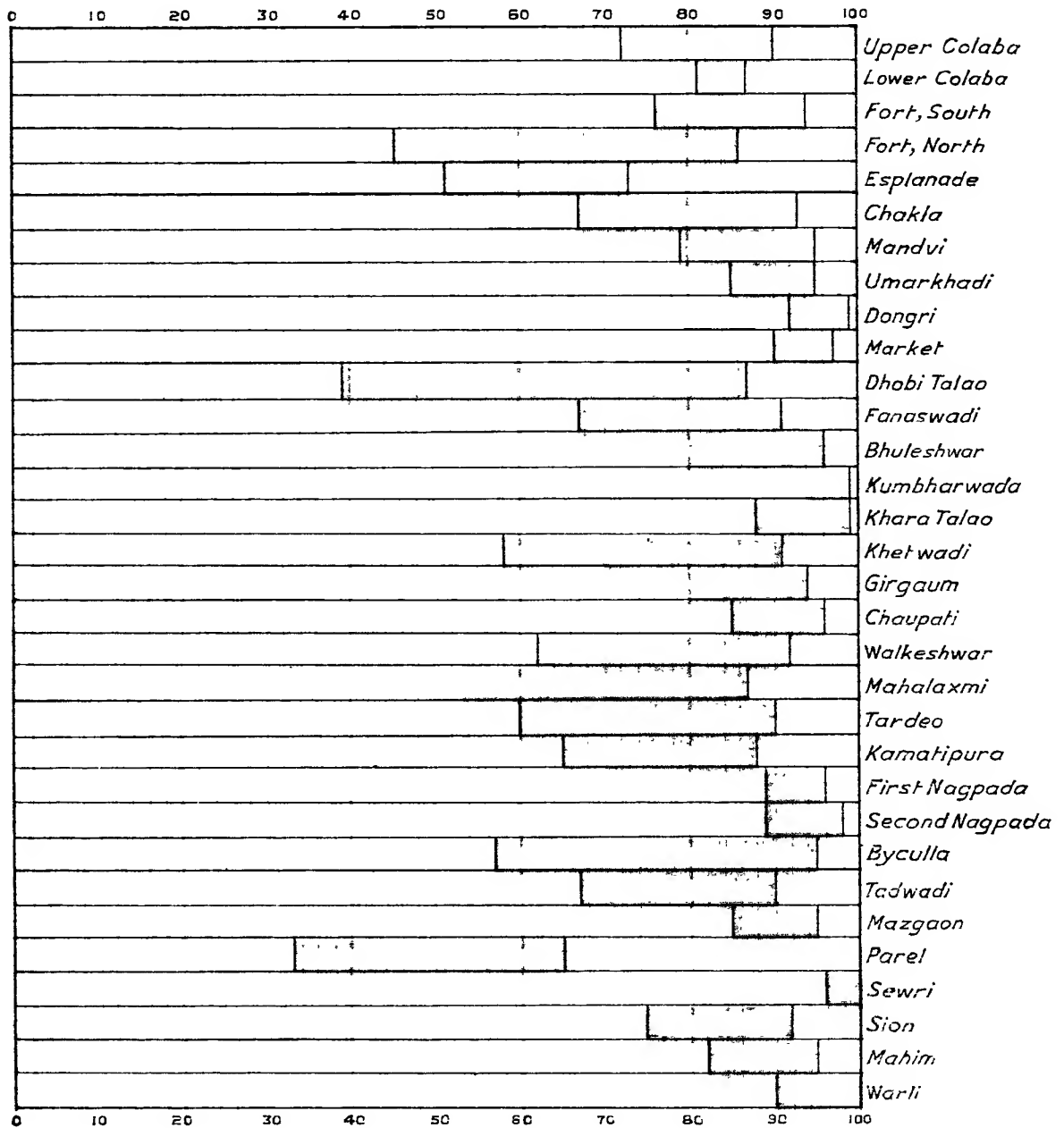
98. Generally speaking the Circles composing the different Sections differ very much in the degree of the pressure of population upon house-room. It is usually best to neglect the top class, and consider mainly the other three. The following are samples of Circles in which the pressure is high and low respectively—

	Actual numbers in each of the four classes.				Total.
<i>High Pressure</i> , Mandvi, No. 11.	2,534	1,525	1,918	613	6,590
<i>Low Pressure</i> , Fort North, Nos. 2, 3 and 5.	5,548	757	305	30	6,640

99. The difference in classification and method renders comparison with English conditions difficult. In the English Census of 1911 a Table was given showing the proportion per 1,000 of the population living in tenements having certain numbers of occupants per room. The Classes were "Up to and including $\frac{1}{2}$, over $\frac{1}{2}$ but less than 1" and so on up to 3, then "Over 3 but less than 4" and "4 and over." Their classification therefore ends before ours begins, since our lowest class is "5 persons and under." There is also a slight difference in the basis of the figures. In England the basis is the tenement, and with us the building. Nevertheless the variations in calculation which would thus be introduced are slight. Another slight difference is however caused by the fact that in England all population residing in tenements of 10 and more rooms is excluded from the Table altogether. These in London amounted to 63 per 1,000 of the whole population. It is significant to notice that in London only 23 per 1,000 or 2.3 per cent. of the population were

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TENEMENTS IN SECTIONS OF BOMBAY TOWN AND ISLAND 1921

CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF ROOMS



1 Room  2-3 Rooms  4 Rooms and over 

enumerated in tenements having an average of 4 persons and over per room, and 409, or 41 per cent. were enumerated in tenements having an average from 1 to 2 persons per room. In Bombay, as we have seen no less than 36 per cent. of the population reside in rooms occupied by 6 persons and over. It certainly seems that pressure upon room-space is much more severe in Bombay. But without the sub-division of our lowest class exact comparison is not possible.

SECTION 16.—HOUSING TABLE VI.

100. This Table should on the face of it present a fairly accurate picture of the state of overcrowding in Bombay. It gives three things (i) *the percentage of tenements having different numbers of rooms to total tenements*, (ii) *the percentage of occupants of each of these classes of tenements to total population*, and (iii) *the average number of persons per room in each class of tenement*. It was given at the two last Censuses for Circles. But this involves such a great number of pages that we have on this occasion given the figures for Sections only, believing that the shorter any statistical table is the greater the chance of its being used. But the figures by Circles, prepared in Manuscript, are filed in the office of the Executive Health Officer for reference if required.

101. The figures included in this Table on this occasion are not exactly comparable with those included in the corresponding Table in past Censuses. It would seem that the note to Table XII (present Table IV) in the 1911 Volume does not apply to this Table (Table XIV of that Volume). It will be remembered that on that occasion for Table XII the following were excluded—"temples, churches, schools, dispensaries, theatres, offices, shops, workshops, factories and unoccupied buildings generally." But this cannot have been maintained for Table XIV because the figure of the population taken for that Table (929,082) is the total population of the Island after deducting the item from Table I for "Harbour and Docks, Railway, Military and Homeless" (44, 979), and an unknown figure of 3,384. What this 3,384 represents is not certain. The note to Table XIV says "This figure (929,082) is exclusive of the population enumerated as homeless, docks and harbour, railways and camps." Can the 3,384 be figures of population in some plague camp, or some encampment of coolies? It can hardly be the total population recorded in the excluded buildings (Table XII), *viz.*, "temples, churches, &c., &c.," because the population shown in the Supplement to Housing Table IV on this occasion as enumerated in non-residential buildings is as high as 45,716; and non-residential buildings on this occasion corresponds roughly to the buildings excluded from Table XII of 1911. It is probable, therefore, that there really were 3,384 persons living under conditions described as "camps." And in that case the figures for Table XIV (corresponding to the present Table) included the "temples, churches, &c., &c.," excluded from Table XII.

102. It would be particularly valuable to know how servants quarters were accounted for in the past. From the note to the Table corresponding to present Housing Table IV in 1901 and to present Housing Table III in 1911 it would seem that Servants Quarters were probably combined with the main building, in which case, while the tenant, as such, would have a larger number of rooms, the number of occupants in it would be more than proportionately increased. On this occasion in the case of a bungalow with servants quarters the bungalow is counted as one tenement, and each separate building of servants quarters as another. But the servants quarters are not now of such importance as in the past, before the bungalow gave way to the flat. On the face of it the narrowing down of the buildings treated for this Table to Residential buildings should *not* produce the effect of *less* overcrowding. The non-Residential building being as often as not a godown or a stable, its exclusion might possibly decrease the percentage of the lowest (one-room) class, but should certainly not decreased the percentage of persons residing in that class of tenements, since the godown or stable would ordinarily be empty.

103. It is, therefore, subject to the above remarks that we present the comparative percentages and averages of occupants per room at each Census.

Class of tenement by number of rooms.	Percentage of each class of tenement to total tenements.			Percentage of occupants of each class of tenement to total population considered.			Average number of persons per room in each class of tenement.		
	1901.	1911.	1921.	1901.	1911.	1921.	1901.	1911.	1921.
1 room ...	87	83	70	81	69	66	4.20	4.47	4.03
2 rooms ...	7	10	14	7	13	14	2.54	2.38	2.11
3 rooms ...	2	3	7	3	7	8	2.06	1.80	1.60
4 rooms ...	1	2	4	2	4	5	1.76	1.54	1.30
5 rooms ...	1	1	3	2	3	4	1.58	1.43	1.06
6 rooms and over.	2	1	2	5	4	3			

104. Excluding all consideration of comparison of Bombay conditions today with those of the past we can give an interesting comparison with London 1911.

Class of tenement by number of rooms.	Percentage of each class of tenement to total tenements.		Percentage of occupants of each class of tenements to total occupants.		Average number of persons per room in each class of tenement.	
	London. 1911.	Bombay. 1921.	London. 1911.	Bombay. 1921.	London. 1911.	Bombay. 1921.
1 room ...	13	70	6	66	1.92	4.03
2 rooms ...	19	14	15	14	1.71	2.11
3 rooms ...	21	7	20	8	1.37	1.60
4 rooms ...	16	4	17	5	1.19	1.30
5 rooms ...	9	3	11	4	1.03	1.06
6 rooms and over.	21	2	25	3		

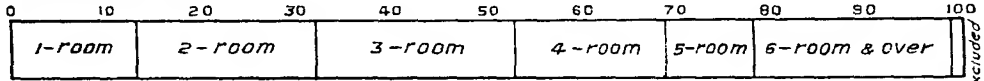
Note.—In London 1 per cent. of the tenements and 6 per cent. of the population are excluded as being “non-private families.” The exclusion of these makes little difference to the figures.

Obviously there is no comparison between overcrowding in Bombay and overcrowding in London. The Bombay conditions are far worse.

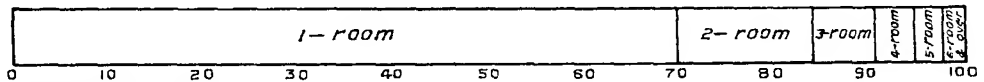
105. To anyone interested in the subject of overcrowding in Bombay this Table is well worth studying. There are few who would be likely to pick out at a random guess the Section most overcrowded and the section least overcrowded. Actually they are Sewri and Parel. In Sewri 96 per cent. of the population lives in one roomed tenements with 5 persons per room. In Parel only 32 per cent. in one-roomed tenements, the average per room in that case being less than 3 persons; 15 per cent. live in two-roomed tenements, 13 per cent. in three-roomed tenements, 15 per cent. in four-roomed tenements, 11 per cent. in five-roomed tenements and 14 per cent. in tenements with 6 rooms and over. The next best Section is Dhobi Talao; but it is a long way behind Parel.

106. Housing Table VI-B gives the number and distribution by Sections of one-roomed tenements accommodating more than one family. In Bombay City as a whole there are 175,001 one-roomed tenements, of which 3,126 contain more than one family. Of these 1,955 contain two families. So that single rooms containing more than two families are comparatively rare. The Manuscript list in the Executive Health Officer's Office will enable anyone who wants to do so to locate all these tenements. In the case of tenements containing large numbers of families considerable care has to be exercised to see that the case is not technical only, *e. g.*, a Dharmashala containing a large number of persons in one large hall. There are 21 cases of Railway properties in which there are one-roomed tenements with more than five families in a room. Probably most, if not all, of these are technical only.

LONDON-1911

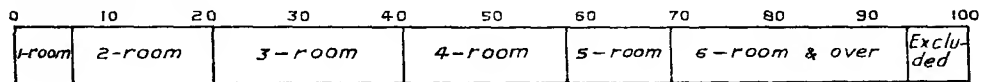


Percentages of tenements of each class to total tenements.

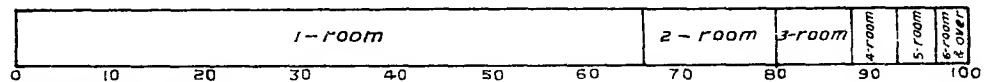


BOMBAY-1921

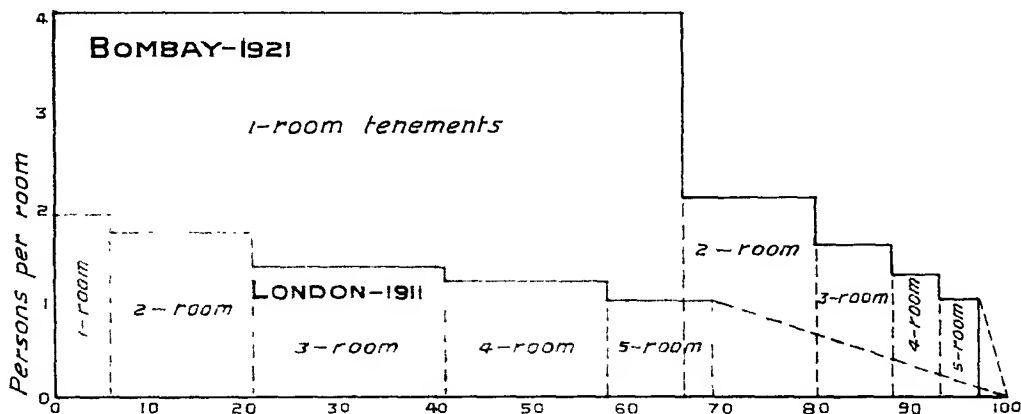
LONDON-1911



Percentages of occupants of each class of tenement to total occupants.



BOMBAY-1921



Percentages of occupants living in tenements classified according to number of rooms, and average number of persons per room.

OVERCROWDING IN BOMBAY, 1921 COMPARED WITH CONDITIONS IN LONDON (ADM. COUNTY), 1911

SECTION 17.—HOUSING TABLE VII.

107. This, the last Housing Table, carries the study of tenements and their occupants down to religions. For the most part the conditions under which the different religions live as revealed by the figures follow lines that would have been expected. The Zoroastrians are the least overcrowded, then the Christians, then the Jains, and then the Mahomedans, with the Hindus in the worst position of all. These figures have less to do with religion as such, than with the proportion of persons in high and low social positions contained in each community. At the same time the Jains might certainly have been expected to show a more free use of rooms. Having regard to the comparative economic position of the Jains and the Zoroastrians it seems that the former are content with much less comfortable conditions. And in practice this is known to be the case. In studying the figures by Sections care has to be taken not to be misled by a percentage distribution due solely to paucity of cases. Thus in Mandvi 100 per cent. of the Zoroastrians live in one-roomed tenements. But this is a mere accident, there being only 3 tenements of Zoroastrians altogether, and these containing only 4 persons. Different degrees of overcrowding in adjacent Sections will not in all cases be due to differences in the religious composition of their population. In the cases of Parel and Sewri, already noted as the least and most overcrowded, both Sections are predominantly Hindu, and the Hindu figures in Housing Table VII show the same variation as the total population figures in Housing Table VI. It is evident therefore that Parel is occupied by a well-to-do Hindu community and Sewri by a very poor one.

CHAPTER VII.—HOUSING TABLES—AHMEDABAD.

General Notes.—This is the first time that these special Housing Tables have been compiled for Ahmedabad. The standard definition of “house” or “building” used in Bombay (see Notes and Discussion to Bombay Housing Tables) was not adopted at Ahmedabad. House-numbering was commenced in that city very early; and in accordance with previous practice the unit to which a separate number was given, was the *tenement*, corresponding approximately with the Gujarati word “*va's*.” A special form was therefore prepared and used, in which there was a column for these separate numbers, and another column in which it was directed that the actual numbers painted on the house, and entered in the first column, should be aggregated for each building. The definition of “building” was left to the local authorities; but the Bombay definition was explained to them with a view to their adjusting their “buildings” so as to correspond as closely as possible to the Bombay building. The correspondence is probably nearly exact. The fact that there are proportionately more buildings in comparison with the population in Ahmedabad than in Bombay is believed to be due to genuine differences in conditions, in other words to the prevalence of a much smaller type of structure. Actually the proportions are as follows:—

BOMBAY—Population 1,175,914. Buildings 52,774. Or one building to every 22·3 persons;

AHMEDABAD—Population 270,775. Buildings 43,703. Or one building to every 6·2 persons.

The population above stated for Ahmedabad is that of the Municipality only, to which alone the Housing Tables relate.

Except for the difference in the method of arriving at the figures, as above explained, the Ahmedabad Housing Tables follow those for Bombay, and all definitions given for the one apply equally to the other.

Housing Table I.—This being the first occasion of classifying buildings it is not likely that the descriptions given are so nearly correct as in Bombay. In particular, although the Abstraction Office was ordered to separate Servants' Quarters from Dwelling Houses, this was not done, the reason being that they

were not described as such in the returns. The percentage distribution of buildings by classes in the two Cities is—

	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.
RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS—		
1. Bungalows and Dwelling Houses	... 23·6	88·3
2. Servants' Quarters	... 5·8	...
3. Chawls	... 9·0	0·1
4. Factories, Shops, Offices, &c., combined with Dwellings.	10·7	3·7
5. Dharmashalas	... 0·2	0·0
6. Institutions	... 0·6	0·1
7. Huts	... 17·3	0·5
8. Others and Unclassifiable	... 0·2	...
<i>Total, Residential Buildings</i>	... 67·4	92·7

NON-RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS—

9. Places of Worship	... 1·4	1·1
10. Institutions and Places of Amusement	... 0·8	0·3
11. Factories, Mills and Works	... 2·9	0·4
12. Offices and Shops	... 5·3	3·8
13. Godowns, Stables, Garages, Sheds and Chowkies.	22·2	1·7
14. Others and Unclassifiable	... ...	...
<i>Total, Non-Residential Buildings</i>	... 32·6	7·3

It is pretty nearly certain that the Item in the case of Ahmedabad which is most incorrect is 4. Factories, Shops, Offices, &c., combined with dwellings. This must bear a larger percentage than 3·7. The cause is the absence of instructions to the Supervisors who prepared the House Lists. In Bombay these men had the 1911 Table to guide them. But in Ahmedabad it was the first time that descriptions of the buildings had been of any importance and the need for accurate descriptions was not understood. Item 8, Offices and Shops, is probably approximately correct. The word Chawl is not of certainty understood or much used at Ahmedabad; and the figures under this item are not correct. On the whole, except as indicating—as is almost certainly the case—that Ahmedabad is not nearly so commercial a city as Bombay the figures in this Table are *unreliable*. They are of use mainly as a guide in 1931, and the pitfalls to be looked out for are clear enough.

Housing Table II.—This is likely to be much more nearly correct than Table I. The counting of floors is not a difficult job, nor one that calls for elaborate instructions. The comparative percentage distribution of buildings by the number of floors in Bombay and Ahmedabad is—

	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.
With ground floor only	... 62·6	35·1
With one upper floor	... 14·5	40·7
With two upper floors	... 10·3	21·2
With three upper floors	... 7·2	2·9
With four upper floors	... 4·1	0·1
With five or more upper floors	... 1·3	0·0

The comparison is interesting. Ahmedabad lacks alike the vast number of small sheds, huts, godowns, &c., and the fair number of tall buildings, which are two characteristics of Bombay. The type is again that of a residential rather than a commercial city.

Housing Tables III and IV.—It has already been suggested in discussing the Bombay Housing Tables that these two particular Tables are of little value. This, as well as the opinion that, if retained next time, the first class in each Table should be broken up, is amply borne out by the Ahmedabad results. The Tables here tell us next to nothing, and are printed only in view of the small space that they take up and the desirability of keeping comparison with Bombay.

No Supplement was prepared showing persons enumerated in Non-residential buildings, as in the case of Supplement I to Housing Table IV Bombay. The persons enumerated in Residential buildings fall short of the Total population by 11,708. The corresponding figure for Bombay was 104,605, which included persons enumerated in Non-residential buildings, persons enumerated on the streets, persons enumerated by the Military, and "Harbour Islands, Railway platforms, Floating population and Unknown." The conditions in Ahmedabad are not such as to result in such a large number as those excluded in Bombay, with its Port and Military.

Housing Table V.—This Table is of course useful. The comparative percentages are as follows:—

	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.
Living in rooms occupied by—		
5 persons and under	... 64·2	84·7
6 to 9 persons	... 22·1	13·2
10 to 19 persons	... 10·8	2·0
20 persons and over	... 2·9	0·1

The general level of overcrowding is therefore lower than in Bombay, when expressed in terms of room-space.

The City (within the walls) shows a lower degree of pressure upon room space than the Puras (outside the walls). The comparative percentages are—

	City.	Puras.
Living in rooms occupied by—		
5 persons and under	... 88·5	75·3
6 to 9 persons	... 10·0	21·0
10 to 19 persons	... 1·4	3·4
20 persons and over	... 0·1	0·3

This is somewhat the opposite of what would have been expected. But it is borne out by the next Tables. The explanation seems to be that the city within the walls is filled up with old residents, whereas the Puras have to accommodate the new-comers, and the demand for dwelling accommodation therefore remains always a little ahead of supply. It is also of course well known that the bulk of the mill-hands reside in the Puras. So that, while density calculated on area is much higher in the city (*see* the Density Map in Chapter III), overcrowding in relation to available rooms is worse outside.

Housing Tables VI and VII.—These Tables again show less overcrowding in Ahmedabad, when expressed in terms of tenements with different numbers of rooms and average of persons per room. The comparative figures (available in the Tables themselves and re-stated here for ready reference) are—

	Percentage of each class of tenement to total tenements.		Percentage borne by population in each class of tenement to total population.		Average number of occupants per room in each class of tenement.	
	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.
Tenements with 1 room	70	55	66	52	4·03	3·39
„ „ 2 rooms	14	22	14	21	2·11	1·74
„ „ 3 rooms	7	9	8	9	1·60	1·31
„ „ 4 rooms	4	7	5	8	1·30	1·07
„ „ 5 rooms	3	3	4	3	1·06	0·92
„ „ 6 rooms and over.	2	4	3	7	Not known.	

Ahmedabad is therefore better than Bombay in this matter; but a glance at the London percentages given in the discussion of Housing Table VI for

Bombay will show that even Ahmedabad is much more badly overcrowded than London.

The Puras again show much more overcrowding than the city proper. In Sheher Kotada 97 per cent. of the population live in 1-roomed tenements, and in several other Pura Wards over 90, whereas in Khadia and other better class portions of the city only a small proportion live in this class of tenements, and there is a preference for 2-roomed tenements, with many of larger numbers of rooms also.

The distribution by religions in Housing Table VII shows that in Ahmedabad the Jains and Parsees are exceptionally well-to-do, very few living in small tenements, and many in tenements with 6 rooms and over. The Hindus and Mahomedans occupy a middle place, with the Christians easily the poorest. This distribution differs considerably from the distribution by religions in Bombay, where the Jains are by no means specially well-to-do, at any rate as judged by the number of rooms occupied by their families, and Christians show a much higher level than in Ahmedabad.

CHAPTER VIII.—HOUSING TABLES—KARACHI.

General Notes.—In contradistinction to Ahmedabad there was from the beginning a regular definition of “building” at Karachi. The point was considered carefully by the Chief Officer, and the following was framed in his own words:—

“House” means—

Premises under one undivided roof whether let off into tenements or not (one such tenement would be given a number, thus 12, and the other tenements 12/1, 12/2, 12/3, &c.).

Provided—that in the case of a terrace of dwellings or semi-detached bungalows, each such dwelling with separate access to the public street, divided off by party walls and occupied by one family from the ground upwards shall be considered to be a separate house although the roof of the terrace, or semi-detached bungalow, may be a continuous one; such cases will include dwellings of ground floor only, and of two or more floors, and each house to be given a separate number.

Note.—In the case of blocks of buildings forming servants’ quarters to a bungalow, each of such blocks shall be classified as one house, the separate tenements being numbered as above for premises under one undivided roof, according to the number of separate families occupying the same.

A comparison of the Housing Tables for Bombay and Ahmedabad has been given in the last Chapter. Karachi occupies an intermediate position, being less modernised than Bombay, but more so than Ahmedabad. Thus—

BOMBAY—Population 11,175,914. Buildings 52,774. Or one building for every 22·3 persons.

KARACHI—Population (excluding Municipality, as entered in City Table D) 201,691. Buildings 31,315. Or one building to every 15·5 persons.

Housing Table I.—The descriptions of buildings would seem on the face of them to have been fairly satisfactory. The number of huts may cause some doubt at first. But these are all returned in the Lyari and Garden Quarters and in the item known as “Scattered Hamlets”. The percentage distribution of buildings by classes compared with Bombay is as follows:—

	Bombay.	Karachi.
RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS—		
1. Bungalows and Dwelling Houses	... 23·6	42·0
2. Servants’ Quarters	... 5·8	2·0
3. Chawls	... 9·0	2·4
4. Factories, Shops, Offices, &c., combined with Dwellings.	10·7	8·0
5. Dharmashalas	... 0·2	0·0
6. Institutions	... 0·6	0·2
7. Huts	... 17·3	33·3
8. Others and Unclassifiable	... 0·2	...
<i>Total Residential Buildings</i>	... <u>67·4</u>	<u>87·9</u>

NON-RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS—

	Bombay.	Karachi.
9. Places of Worship ...	1·4	0·7
10. Institutions and Places of Amusement ...	0·8	0·6
11. Factories, Mills and Works ...	2·9	0·2
12. Offices and Shops ...	5·3	7·0
13. Godowns, Stables, Garages, Sheds and Chowkies.	22·2	3·6
<i>Total Non-Residential Buildings</i> ...	<u>32·6</u>	<u>12·1</u>

The only item which, in view of the character of Karachi as a great exporting centre, seems out of gear, is "Godowns, Stables, Garages, Sheds and Chowkies", which would have been excepted to have been comparatively as numerous as in Bombay. However it is impossible for the Census Office to decide the point; and barring this one item the figures look reliable.

Housing Table II.—In the average height of its buildings Karachi is below the other two Cities. The vast number of huts no doubt keeps up the proportion of ground floor structures. But it seems that even after those are disposed of the remaining buildings are of a generally lower type than in the Presidency Cities. There are few buildings with more than 2 floors, and none with more than four upper floors. The comparative position of the three cities is shown thus:—

Percentage to total buildings.			
	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.	Karachi.
With ground floor only ...	62·6	35·1	80·3
With one upper floor ...	14·5	40·7	12·9
With two upper floors ...	10·3	21·2	5·6
With three upper floors ...	7·2	2·9	1·1
With four upper floors ...	4·1	0·1	0·1
With five upper floors or more ...	1·3	0·0	...

Housing Tables III, IV and V.—The number of persons enumerated in Residential buildings falls short of the total population by 17,431, as compared with 11,708 in the larger City of Ahmedabad. The larger number is due in the main to the influence of the Port; but it would have been larger still had the enumeration of Station Platforms been carried out.

The percentage of persons living in rooms occupied by various numbers of persons is as follows:—

	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.	Karachi.
5 persons and under ...	64·2	84·7	52·5
6 to 9 persons ...	22·1	13·2	32·3
10 to 19 persons ...	10·8	2·8	12·4
20 persons and over ...	2·9	0·1	2·8

Overcrowding is therefore worse than in Bombay and much worse than in Ahmedabad. The pressure differs in different portions of the city. The worst quarters are—Old Town, Napier, Market, Serai, Rambaugh, Jail, Soldier Bazaar and Keamari.

Housing Table VI.—Overcrowding as shown by this Table is on the whole worse than in Bombay. The figures are available in the Table itself. It is important to remember that the existence of very large numbers of one-roomed tenements is not exactly synonymous with overcrowding. Thus in the Bunder Quarter there is a very great proportion of one-roomed tenements, and in the Market Quarter a low proportion of the same. But the pressure of persons on rooms is much higher in the Market. A large number of one roomed tenements means poverty. A high figure for persons per room means overcrowding. The two may exist side by side, for instance in the Ranchore Quarter. Or we may have poverty without overcrowding, as in the Bunder, and in the Gardens Quarter. Or thirdly we may have overcrowding in better class tenements (*i. e.*, judged by the number of rooms in each) as for example in the Market and Napier Quarters.

Housing Table VII was prepared; but being found unreliable it had to be abandoned.

CHAPTER IX.—HOUSE ACCOMMODATION IN OTHER
CITIES AND TOWNS.

At this Census it was decided by Government to take out some special statistics for various places other than Bombay, Ahmedabad and Karachi with a view to ascertaining the pressure upon house accommodation. There was a divergence of views among the Commissioners, who were consulted, as to what was wanted. The ultimate orders were contained in G. O. No. 6263 of 11th June 1920 and No. 9850 of 21st September 1920.

Accordingly special forms for House Lists were prepared and got printed by me, and supplied to the Municipalities concerned. But they were not always intelligently filled up.

In the end it was found necessary to abandon the preparation of Special Tables for Hubli, Bagalkot and Shikarpur. The results in Sholapur, Hyderabad (Sind), Sukkur and Rohri will be found at the end of Cities Table Volume, Vol. IX, Part II, to which this is the Report. I print these figures for what they are worth, which may or may not amount to something. In view of the general excellence of the Census work in Sholapur the figures in those Tables ought to be reliable. Of the three Sind Towns I cannot speak with such confidence.

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